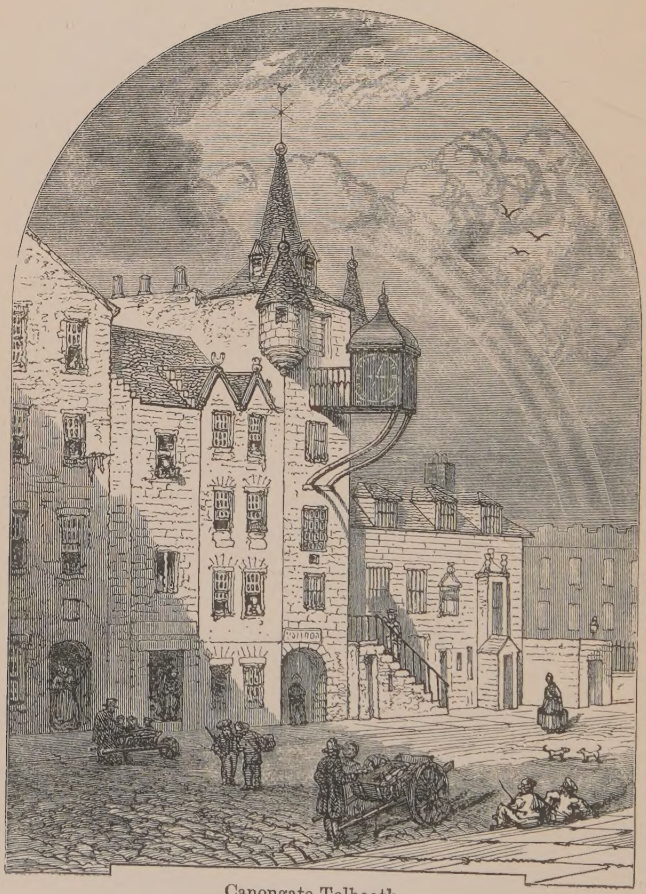
ROYAL ARMS
OF
SCOTLAND



Canongate Tolbooth.

DOMESTIC

ANNALS OF SCOTLAND

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE REBELLION OF 1745

BY

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ABRIDGED EDITION

W. & R. CHAMBERS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
1885

*** *The contents of this work have been abridged from the original octavo edition in three volumes.*

Edinburgh:
Printed by W. & R. Chambers.

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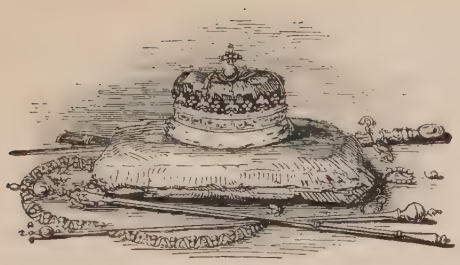


DOMESTIC ANNALS OF SCOTLAND.

Introductory.

OUR attention lights, a few years after the middle of the sixteenth century, on a little independent kingdom in the northern part of the British island—a tract of country now thought romantic and beautiful, then hard-favoured and sterile, chiefly mountainous, penetrated by deep inlets of the sea, and suffering under a climate not so objectionable on account of cold as humidity. It contains a scattered population of probably seven hundred thousand—the SCOTS. A very poor, rude country, as it well might be in that age, and seeing that it lay so far to the north and so much out of the highway of civilisation. No well-formed roads in it—no posts for letters or for travelling. A printing-press in the head town, Edinburgh, but not another anywhere. A regular localised court of law had not yet existed in it thirty years. No stated means of education, excepting a few grammar-schools in the principal towns, and three small universities. Society consisted mainly of a large agricultural class, half enslaved to the lords of the soil; above all, obliged to follow them in war.

Other industrial pursuits to be found only in the burghs, the chief of which were Edinburgh, Glasgow, Stirling, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen.

In reality, though it was not known then, the bulk of the people of Scotland were a branch of the great Teutonic race which possesses Germany and some other countries in the north-west of Europe. Precisely the same people they were with the bulk of the English, and speaking essentially the same language, though for ages they had been almost incessantly at war with that richer and more advanced community.

The present monarch was 'our Sovereign Lady Mary,' a young and beautiful woman, married to Francis II. of France. She had been carried thither in a troublous time during her childhood, and in her absence, a regent's sceptre was swayed by her mother, a princess of the House of Guise. Up to that time, Scotland, like most of the rest of Europe, was observant of the Catholic religion, and under vows of obedience to the pope of Rome. But the reforming ideas of Luther and Melanchthon, of Zuinglius and Calvin, at length came to it, and surprising were the effects thereof. As by some magical evolution, the great mass of the people instantaneously threw off all regard to the authority of the pope, with all their old habits of worship, professing instead a reverence for the simple letter of Scripture, as interpreted to them by the reforming preachers.

This change may be considered as having been completed in August 1560, when an irregular parliament, or assembly of the Estates of the kingdom, abolished the jurisdiction of the pope, proscribed the mass under the severest penalties, and approved of a Confession of Faith resembling the articles which had been established in England by Edward VI. The chief feature of the new system was, that each parish should have its own pastor, elected by the people, or at least a reader to read the Scriptures and common prayers. The great bulk of the possessions and revenues of the old church fell into the hands of the nobles, or remained with nominal bishops, abbots, and other dignitaries, who continued formally to occupy their ancient places in parliament,

while the Presbyterian clergy were insufficient in number, and in general very poorly supported.

The Scotland of that day was ruder than the England of that day, ruder than many other European states. Few persons could read or write. Few knew aught beyond their daily calling. Men carried weapons, and were apt to use them on light occasion. The lords, and the rich generally, exercised enormous oppression upon the poor. The government was a faction of nobles, as against all the rest. When a man had a suit at law, he felt he had no chance without using 'influence.' Was he to be tried for an offence?—his friends considered themselves bound to muster in arms round the court to see that he got fair-play—that is, to get him off unharmed if they could. Men were accustomed to violence in all forms, as to their daily bread. The house of a man of consideration was a kind of castle: at the least, it was a tall narrow tower, with a grated door and a wall of defence. No one in those days had any general conceptions regarding the processes of nature. They saw the grass grow and their bullocks feed, and thought no more of it. Any extraordinary natural event, as an eclipse of the sun or an earthquake, still more a comet, affected them as an immediate expression of a frowning Providence. The great diseases, such as pestilence, which arose in consequence of their uncleanly habits, and the wide-spread famines from which they often suffered, appeared to them as divine chastisements; not perhaps for the sins of those who suffered—which would have been comparatively reasonable—but probably for the sins of a ruler who did not suffer at all.

The ruling class knew no more of a just public economy than the poor. Through absurd attempts to raise the value of coin by statute, the Scotch pound had fallen to a fraction of its original worth. By ridiculous endeavours to control markets, and adjust exportation and importation, mercantile freedom was paralysed, and penury and scarcity among the poor greatly increased. The good plant of Knowledge not being yet cultivated, its weed-precursor, Superstition, largely prevailed. Bearded men believed that a few muttered words could take away and give back

the milk of their cattle. An archbishop expected to be cured of a deadly ailment by a charm pronounced by an ignorant country-woman. The forty-six men who met as the first General Assembly, and drew from the Scriptures the Confession of Faith which they handed down as stereotyped truth to after-generations, were every one of them not more fully persuaded of the soundness of any of the doctrines of that Confession, than they were of the reality of sorcery, and felt themselves not more truly called upon by the Bible to repress idolatry than to punish witches. They were good men, earnest, and meaning well to God and man; but they were men of the sixteenth century, ignorant, and rough in many of their ways.

While, then, we shall see great occasion to admire the hardy valour with which this people achieved their deliverance from bondage, we must also be prepared for finding them full of vehement intolerance towards all challenge of their own dogmas and all adherence to alien forms of faith. We shall find them utterly incapable of imagining a conscientious dissent, much less of allowing for and respecting it. We must be prepared to see them—while repudiating one set of superstitious incrustations upon the original simple gospel—working it out on their own part in creeds, platts or schemes, covenants, and church institutions generally, full of mere human logic and device, but yet assumed to be as true as if a divine voice had spoken and framed them, breathing war and persecution towards all other systems, and practically operating as a tyranny only somewhat less formidable than that which had been put away.

Reign of Mary.

1561–1565.

THE regent, Mary de Guise, having died in June 1560, while her daughter Mary, the nominally reigning queen, was still in France, the management of affairs fell into the hands of the body of nobles, styled Lords of the Congregation, who had struggled for the establishment of the Protestant faith. The chief of these was Lord James Stuart, an illegitimate son of James V., and brother of the queen—the man of by far the greatest sagacity and energy of his age and country, and a most earnest votary of the new religion.

Becoming a widow in December 1560 by the death of her husband, Francis II., Mary no longer had any tie binding her to France, and consequently she resolved on returning to her own dominions. She arrived in Edinburgh in August 1561. The people regarded her beautiful face with affection, but her conduct towards the Protestant cause appeared as that of one who submits to what cannot be resisted. One obvious motive for keeping on fair terms with Protestantism for the present, lay in her hopes of succeeding to the English crown, in the event of the death of Elizabeth, whose next heir she was.

1561.

A custom, dating far back in Catholic times, prevailed in Edinburgh in unchecked luxuriance down almost to the time of the Reformation. It consisted in a set of unruly dramatic games, called *Robin Hood*, the *Abbot of Unreason*, and the *Queen of May*, which were enacted every year in the floral month just mentioned. The interest felt by the populace in these whimsical merry-makings was intense. At the approach of May, they assembled and chose some respectable individuals

of their number, very grave and reverend citizens perhaps, to act the parts of Robin Hood and Little John, of the Lord of Inobedience, or the Abbot of Unreason, and 'make sports and jocosities' for them. If the chosen actors felt it inconsistent with their tastes, gravity, or engagements, to don a fantastic dress, caper and dance, and incite their neighbours to do the like, they could only be excused on paying a fine. On the appointed day, always a Sunday or holiday, the people assembled in their best attire and in military array, and marched in blithe procession to some neighbouring field, where the fitting preparations had been made for their amusement. Robin Hood and Little John robbed bishops, fought with pinners, and contended in archery among themselves, as they had done in reality two centuries before. The Abbot of Unreason kicked up his heels and played antics like a modern pantaloon. The popular relish for all this was such as can scarcely now be credited.

Such were the Robin Hood plays of Catholic and unthinking times. By-and-by, when the Reformation approached, they were found to be disorderly and discreditable, and an act of parliament was passed against them. Still, while the upper and more serious classes frowned, the common sort of people loved the sport too much to resign it without a struggle. It came to be one of the first difficulties of the men who had carried through the Reformation, how to wrestle the people out of their love of the May-games.

In April 1561, one George Durie was chosen in Edinburgh as Robin Hood and Lord of Inobedience, and on Sunday the 12th of May, he and a great number of other persons came riotously into the city, with an ensign and arms in their hands, in disregard of both the act of parliament and an act of the town-council. Notwithstanding an effort of the magistrates to turn them back, they passed to the Castle-hill, and thence returned at their own pleasure. For this offence a cordiner's servant, named James Gillon, was condemned to be hanged on the 21st of July.

July 21.—'When the time of the poor man's hanging

approachit, and that the [hangman] was coming to the gibbet with the ladder, upon which the said cordiner should have been hangit, the craftsmen's childer [that is, persons in the employment of the craftsmen, journeymen] and servants past to

An Edinburgh Hammerman, 1555.
From a sculpture on the Magdalen Chapel, Cowgate, Edinburgh.

armour; and first they housit Alexander Guthrie and the provost and bailies in the said Alexander's writing-booth, and syne came down again to the Cross, and dang down the gibbet, and brake it in pieces, and thereafter passed to the Tolbooth, whilk was then steekit [shut]; and when they could not apprehend the keys thereof, they brought fore-hammers and

dang up the same Tolbooth door perforce, the provost, bailies, and others looking thereupon; and when the said door was broken up, ane part of them past in the same, and not allenarly [only] brought the same condemnit cordiner forth of the said Tolbooth, but also all the remanent persons being thereintill; and this done they past down the Hie Gait [High Street], to have past forth at the Nether Bow, whilk was then steekit, and because they could not get furth thereat, they past up the Hie Gait again; and in the meantime the provost, bailies, and their assisters being in the writing-booth of Alexander Guthrie, past to the Tolbooth; and in their passing up the said gait, they being in the Tolbooth, as said is, shot forth at the said servants ane dag, and hurt ane servant of the craftsmen's. That being done, there was naething but tak and slay; that is, the ane part shooting forth and casting stanes, the other part shooting hagbuts in again; and sae the craftsmen's servants held them [conducted themselves] continually fra three hours afternoon while [till] aucht at even, and never ane man of the town steirit to defend their provost and bailies.'—*D. O.*

This was altogether an unprotestant movement, though springing only from a thoughtless love of sport. We may see in the attack on the Tolbooth a foreshadow of the doings of the Porteous mob in a later age. Thirteen persons were afterwards 'fylit' [convicted] by an assize for refusing to help the magistrates.—*Pit.*

On its being known that Queen Mary was about to arrive in Scotland from France, there was a great flocking of the upper class of people from all parts of the country to Edinburgh, 'as it were to a common spectacle.'

Aug. 19.—The queen arrived with her two vessels in Leith Roads, at seven in the morning of a dull autumn day. She was accompanied by her three uncles of the House of Guise—the Duc d'Aumale, the Grand Prior, and the Marquis d'Elbeuf; besides Monsieur d'Amville, son of the constable of France, her four gentlewomen, called the *Maries*, and many persons of inferior note. To pursue the narrative of one who looked on

the scene with an evil eye: 'The very face of heaven, the time of her arrival, did manifestly speak what comfort was brought unto this country with her—to wit, sorrow, dolour, darkness, and all impiety; for in the memory of man, that day of the year, was never seen a more dolorous face of the heaven, than was at her arrival, which two days after did so continue; for beside the surface weet and corruption of the air, the mist was so thick and so dark, that scarce might any man espy ane other the length of twa butts. The sun was not seen to shine two days before nor two days after. That forewarning gave God unto us; but, alas, the most part were blind.'—*Knox.*

The magistrates of Edinburgh, although all of them zealous for the reformed religion, resolved to give their young sovereign a gallant reception, taxing the community for the expenses. It was likewise thought good that, 'for the honour and pleasure of our sovereign, ane banquet sould be made upon Sunday next, to the princes, our said sovereign's kinsmen.' The Sunday banquet to the queen's uncles duly took place in the cardinal's lodging in Blackfriars' Wynd. The entire expenses on the occasion of this royal reception were 4000 merks (above £220 sterling).

Oct. 2.—Before the queen had been settled for many weeks in her capital, the new-born zeal of the people against the old religion found vent in a way that showed in how little danger she was of being spoilt by complaisance on the part of her subjects. The provost of Edinburgh, Archibald Douglas, with the bailies and council, 'causit ane proclamation to be proclaimit at the Cross of Edinburgh, commanding and charging all and sundry monks, friars, priests, and all others papists and profane persons, to pass furth of Edinburgh within twenty-four hours, under the pain of burning of disobeyers upon the cheek and harling of them through the town upon ane cart. At the whilk proclamation, the queen's grace was very commovit.' —*D. O.* She had, after all, sufficient influence to cause the provost and bailies to be degraded from their offices for this act of zeal.

The autumn of this year, the weather was 'richt guid and fair.' In the winter quarter, the weather was still fair, and there was 'peace and rest in all Scotland.'—*C. F.*

Dec. 16.—William Guild was convicted, notwithstanding his being a minor and of weak mind, of 'the thieftous stealing and taking forth of the purse of Elizabeth Danielstone, the spouse of Niel Laing, of ane signet of gold, ane other signet of gold set with ane cornelian, ane gold ring set with ane great sapphire, ane other gold ring with ane sapphire formit like ane heart, ane gold ring set with ane torquois, ane small double gold ring set with ane diamond and ane ruby, ane auld angel-noble, and ane cusset ducat.'—*Pit.* This account of the contents of Mrs Laing's purse raises unexpected ideas as to the means and taste of the middle classes in 1561.

1561-2.

While Scotland was noted in the eyes of foreigners as a barren land—Shakspeare comparing it for nakedness to the palm of the hand—its own people were fain to believe and eager to boast that it was rich in minerals. In 1511, 1512, and 1513, James IV. had gold-mines worked on Crawford Muir, in the upper ward of Lanarkshire—a peculiarly sterile tract, scarcely any part of which is less than a thousand feet above the sea. In the royal accounts for those years, there are payments to Sir James Pettigrew, who seems to have been chief of the enterprise, to Simon Northberge, the master-finer, Andrew Ireland, the finer, and Gerald Essemer, a Dutchman, the melter of the mine. Under the same king, in 1512, a lead-mine was wrought at Wanlockhead, on the other side of the same group of hills in Dumfriesshire. The operations, probably interrupted by the disaster of Flodden, were resumed in 1526, under James V., who gave a company of Germans a grant of the mines of Scotland for forty-three years. Leslie tells us that these Germans, with the characteristic perseverance of their countrymen, toiled laboriously at gold-digging for many months in the surface alluvia of the moor, and obtained a considerable amount of gold; but not enough, we suspect, to remunerate

the labour, otherwise the work would surely have been continued.

We shall find that the search for the precious metals in the mountainous district at the head of the vales of the Clyde and Nith, did not now finally cease, but that it never proved remunerative work. On the other hand, the lead-mines of the district have for centuries, and down to the present day, borne a conspicuous place in the economy of Scotland.

Jan. 23.—John Acheson, master-cunyer, and John Aslowan, burgess of Edinburgh, now completed an arrangement with Queen Mary, by virtue of which they had license to work the lead-mines of Glengoner and Wanlockhead, and carry as much as twenty thousand stone-weight of the ore to Flanders, or other foreign countries, for which they bound themselves to deliver at the queen's cunyie-house before the 1st of August next, forty-five ounces of fine silver for every thousand stone-weight of the ore, 'extending in the hale to nine hundred unces of utter fine silver.'

Acheson and Aslowan were continuing to work these mines in August 1565, when the queen and her husband, King Henry, granted a license to John, Earl of Athole, 'to win forty thousand trone stane wecht, counting six score stanes for ilk hundred, of lead ore, and mair, gif the same may guidly be won, within the nether lead hole of Glengoner and Wanlock.' The earl agreed to pay to their majesties in requital fifty ounces of fine silver for every thousand stone-weight of the ore.—*P. C. R.*

How the enterprise of Acheson and Aslowan ultimately succeeded does not appear. We suspect that, to some extent, it prospered, as the name Sloane, which seems the same as Aslowan, continued to flourish at Wanlockhead so late as the days of Burns.

Feb.—There was 'meikle snaw in all parts; mony deer and roes slain.'—*C. F.*

1562.

Apr.—The queen was at St Andrews, inquiring into a con-

spiracy of which the Duke of Chatelherault and the Earl of Bothwell had been accused by the Duke's son, the Earl of Arran. In the midst of the affair, Arran proved to be 'phrenetick.' On the 4th of May, 'my Lords Arran, Bothwell, and the commendator of Kilwinning came fra St Andrews to the burgh of Edinburgh in this manner—that is to say, my Lord Arran was convoyit in the queen's grace's *coach*, because of the phrenesy aforesaid, and the Earl of Bothwell and my Lord Commendator of Kilwinning rade, convoyit with twenty-four horsemen, whereof was principal Captain Stewart, captain of the queen's guard.'—*D. O.*

This is not the first notice of a travelling vehicle that occurs in our national domestic history. Several payments in connection with a chariot belonging to the late Queen Mary de Guise, so early as 1538, occur in the lord-treasurer's books. It is not, however, likely that either the chariot of the one queen or the coach of the other was a wheeled vehicle, as, if we may trust to an authority about to be quoted, such a convenience was as yet unknown even in England.

'In the year 1564, Guilliam Boonen, a Dutchman, became the queen's coachman, and was the first that brought the use of coaches into England. And after a while, divers great ladies, with as great jealousy of the queen's displeasure, made them coaches, and rid in them up and down the countries, to the great admiration of all the beholders; but then, by little and little, they grew usual among the nobility and others of sort, and within twenty years became a great trade of coach-making.

'And about that time began long waggons to come in use, such as now come to London from Canterbury, Norwich, Ipswich, Gloucester, &c., with passengers and commodities. Lastly, even at this time (1605) began the ordinary use of carouches.'—*Howes's Chronicle.*

The author of the *Memorie of the Somervilles*—who, however, lived in the reign of Charles II., and probably wrote from tradition only—says that the Regent Morton used a coach, which was the *second* introduced into Scotland, the *first* being

one which Alexander, Lord Seton, brought from France, when Queen Mary returned from that country. It is to be remarked that the Lord Seton of that day was George, not Alexander; and it is evident that Mary did not use a coach on her landing, or at her ceremonial entry into Edinburgh.

To turn for a moment to one of the remoter and wilder parts of the country. John Mackenzie of Kintail 'was a great courtier with Queen Mary. He feued much of the lands of Brae Ross. When the queen sent her servants to know the condition of the gentry of Ross, they came to his house of Killin; but before their coming he had gotten intelligence that it was to find out the condition of the gentry of Ross that they were coming; whilk made him cause his servants to put ane great fire of fresh arn [alder] wood when they came, to make a great reek; also he caused kill a great bull in their presence; whilk was put altogether into ane kettle to their supper. When the supper came, there were a half-dozen great dogs present, to sup the broth of the bull, whilk put all the house through-other with their tulyie. When they ended the supper, ilk ane lay where they were. The gentlemen thought they had gotten purgatory on earth, and came away as soon as it was day; but when they came to the houses of Balnagowan, and Foulis, and Milton, they were feasted like princes.

'When they went back to the queen, she asked who were the ablest men they saw in Ross. They answered: "They were all able men, except that man that was her majesty's great courtier, Mackenzie—that he did both eat and lie with his dogs." "Truly," said the queen, "it were a pity of his poverty—he is the best man of them all." Then the queen did call for all the gentry of Ross to take their land in feu, when Mackenzie got the cheap feu, and more for his thousand merks than any of the rest got for five.'—*MS. History of the Family of Mackenzie.*

Sep. 28.—This day commenced a famous disputation between John Knox and Quintin Kennedy, abbot of Crossraguel, con-

cerning the doctrines of popery. After a tedious correspondence between the two regarding the place, time, and number to be present, they met in the house of the provost of the collegiate church of Maybole, under the sanction of the Earl of Cassillis, and with forty persons on each side. The conference commenced at eight in the morning, being opened by John Knox with a prayer, which Kennedy admitted to be 'weel said.' It will scarcely be believed that three days were consumed by these redoubted controversialists in debating one question; and, for anything we can see, the disputation might have been still further protracted, but for an opportune circumstance. Strange to say—looking at what Maybole now is—it broke down under the burden of eighty strangers in three days! They had to disperse for lack of provisions.

Nov.—There raged at this time in Edinburgh a disease called the *New Acquaintance.* The queen and most of her courtiers had it; it spared neither lord nor lady, French nor English. 'It is a pain in their heads that have it, and a soreness in their stomachs, with a great cough; it remaineth with some longer, with others shorter time, as it findeth apt bodies for the nature of the disease.' Most probably, this disorder was the same as that now recognised as the influenza.

1563.

June 4.—In the parliament now sitting, some noticeable acts were passed. One decreed that 'nae person carry forth of this realm ony gold or silver, under pain of escheating of the same and of all the remainder of their moveable guids;' merchants going abroad to carry only as much as they strictly require for their travelling expenses. Another enacted, that 'nae person take upon hand to use ony manner of witchcrafts, sorcery, or necromancy, nor give themselves furth to have ony sic craft or knowledge thereof, there-through abusing the people;' also, that 'nae person seek ony help, response, or consultation at ony sic users or abusers of witchcrafts . . . . under the pain of death.' This is the statute under which all the subsequent witch-trials took place.

A third statute, reciting that much coal is now carried forth of the realm, often as mere ballast for ships, causing 'a maist exorbitant dearth and scantiness of fuel,' forbade further exportations of the article, under strong penalties. In those early days, coal was only dug in places where it cropped out or could be got with little trouble. As yet, no special mechanical arrangements for excavating it had come into use. The comparatively small quantity of the mineral used in Edinburgh —for there peat was the reigning fuel—was brought from Tranent, nine miles off, in *creels* on horses' backs. The above enactment probably referred to some partial and temporary failure of the small supply then required. It never occurred to our simple ancestors, that to export a native produce, such as coal, and get money in return, was tending to enrich the country, and in all circumstances deserved encouragement instead of prohibition.

July.—At this time there were not wanting pretenders to the surgical art. Robert Henderson attracted the favourable notice of the town-council of Edinburgh by performing sundry wonderful cures—namely, healing a man whose hands had been cut off, a man and woman who had been run through the body with swords by the French, and a woman understood to have been suffocated, and who had lain two days in her grave. The council ordered Robert twenty merks as a reward. —*Edin. Council Register.*

Sep. 13.—Two gentlemen became sureties in Edinburgh for Marion Carruthers, co-heiress of Mousewald, in Dumfriesshire, 'that she shall not marry ane chief traitor nor other broken man of the country,' under pain of £1000—a large sum to stake upon a young lady's will.

This was a year of dearth throughout Scotland; wheat being six pounds the boll, oats fifty shillings, a draught-ox twenty merks, and a wedder thirty shillings. 'All things apperteining to the sustentation of man in triple and more exceeded their

accustomed prices.' Knox, who notes these facts, remarks that the famine was most severe in the north, where the queen had travelled in the preceding autumn: many died there. 'So did God, according to the threatening of his law, punish the idolatry of our wicked queen, and our ingratitude, that suffered her to defile the land with that abomination again [the mass]. . . . . The riotous feasting used in court and country wherever that wicked woman repaired, provoked God to strike the staff of breid, and to give his malediction upon the fruits of the earth.'

It was of the frame of the Reformer's ideas, that a judgment would be sent upon the poor for the errors of their ruler, and that this judgment would be intensified in a particular district merely because the ruler had given it her personal presence. He failed to observe, or threw aside, the fact that the same famine prevailed in England, where a queen entirely agreeable to him and his friends was now reigning, and certainly indulging in not a few banquetings.

1563–4.

Jan. 20.—'God from heaven, and upon the face of the earth, gave declaration that he was offended at the iniquity that was committed within this realm; for, upon the 20th day of January, there fell weet in great abundance, whilk in the falling freezit so vehemently, that the earth was but ane sheet of ice. The fowls both great and small freezit, and micht not flie: mony died, and some were taken and laid beside the fire, that their feathers might resolve. And in that same month, the sea stood still, as was clearly observed, and neither ebbed nor flowed the space of twenty-four hours.'—*Knox.*

In the ensuing month meteorological signs even more alarming to the great Reformer took place. There were seen in the firmament (Feb. 15 and 18), says he, 'battles arrayit, spears and other weapons, and as it had been the joining of two armies. Thir things were not only observed, but also spoken and constantly affirmed by men of judgment and credit.' Nevertheless, he adds, 'the queen and our court made merry.'

The Reformer considered these appearances as declarations of

divine wrath against the iniquity of the land. Most probably they were resolvable into a simple example of the *aurora borealis*.

The crimes of unruly passion and of superstition predominated in this age; but those of dexterous selfishness were not unknown.

Feb.—Thomas Peebles, goldsmith in Edinburgh, was convicted of forging coin-stamps and uttering false coin—namely, *Testons*, *Half-testons*, *Non-sunts*, and *Lions* or *Hardheads*. It appeared that he had given some of his false hardheads to a poor woman as the price of a burden of coal. With this money she came to the market to buy some necessary articles, and was instantly challenged for passing false coin. 'The said Thomas being named by her to be her warrant, and deliverer of the said false coin to her, David Symmer and other bailies of the burgh of Edinburgh come with her to the said Thomas's chalmer, to search him for trial of the verity. He held the door of his said chalmer close upon him, and wald not suffer them to enter, while [till] they brake up the door thereof upon him, and entered perforce therein; and the said Thomas being inquired if he had given the said poor woman the said lions, for the price of her coals, confessit the same; and his chalmer being searched, there was divers of the said irons, as well sunken and unsunken, together with the said false testons, &c., funden in the same, and confessit to be made and graven by him and his colleagues.' Thomas was condemned to be hanged, and to have his property escheat to the queen.—*Pit.*

1564.

March.—John Knox, at the age of fifty-eight, entered into the state of wedlock for the second time, by marrying Margaret Stewart, daughter of Lord Ochiltree. She proved a good wife to the old man, and survived him. The circumstance of a young woman of rank, with royal blood in her veins—for such was the case—accepting an elderly husband so far below her degree, did not fail to excite remark; and John's papist enemies could not account for it otherwise than by a supposition of the

black art having been employed. The affair is thus adverted to by the Reformer's shameless enemy, Nicol Burne: 'A little after he did pursue to have alliance with the honourable house of Ochiltree, of the king's majesty's awn bluid. Riding there with ane great court [cortège], on ane trim gelding, nocht like ane prophet or ane auld decrepit priest, as he was, but like as he had been ane of the bluid royal, with his bands of taffeta fastenit with golden rings and precious stanes: and, as is plainly reportit in the country, by sorcery and witchcraft, [he] did sae allure that puir gentlewoman, that she could not live without him; whilk appears to be of great probability, she being ane damsel of noble bluid, and he ane auld decrepit creature of maist base degree, sae that sic ane noble house could not have degenerate sae far, except John Knox had interposed the power of his master the devil, wha, as he transfigures himself sometimes as ane angel of licht, sae he causit John Knox appear ane of the maist noble and lusty men that could be found in the warld.'

Aug.—At the beginning of this month, Queen Mary paid a visit of pleasure to the Highlands of Perthshire, where the Earl of Athole was her entertainer. It is understood that Glen Tilt was the scene of a grand hunt, in the characteristic style of the country, at which the queen was present, and of which an account has been preserved to us by a scholarly personage who was in the royal train. 'In the year 1563,' says he (mistaking the year), 'the Earl of Athole, a prince of the blood-royal, had, with much trouble and vast expense, a hunting-match for the entertainment of our most illustrious and most gracious queen. Our people call this a royal hunting. I was then,' says William Barclay, 'a young man, and was present on the occasion. Two thousand Highlanders, of wild Scotch, as you call them here, were employed to drive to the hunting-ground all the deer from the woods and hills of Athole, Badenoch, Mar, Murray, and the counties about. As these Highlanders use a light dress, and are very swift of foot, they went up and down so nimbly that in less than two months' time they brought together 2000

red deer, besides roes and fallow-deer. The queen, the great men, and others, were in a glen when all the deer were brought before them. The sight delighted the queen very much. There were killed that day 360 deer, with five wolves and some roes.'

The queen, in the course of her excursion, is believed to have taken an interest in the native music of the Highlands, in which, as in Ireland, the harp bore a distinguished part. It is even reported that a kind of competition amongst the native harpers took place in her presence, at which she adjudged the victory to Beatrix Gardyn, of Banchory, Aberdeenshire. Certain it is, that the Robertsons of Lude possessed a harp of antique form,

Queen Mary's Harp.

which family tradition represented as having come to them through a descendant of Beatrix Gardyn, who had married a Robertson of Lude; and the same authority regarded this harp with veneration, as having been the prize conferred on the fair Beatrix by Queen Mary, for her superior excellence as a performer on the instrument. Queen Mary's harp, as it is called, is now in the possession of Mr Stewart of Dalguise. It is a small instrument compared with the modern harp, being fitted for twenty-eight strings, the longest extending twenty-four inches, the shortest two and a half. There had once been

gems set in it, and also, it is supposed, a portrait of the queen. It was strung anew and played upon in 1806.

This summer there was 'guid cheap of victuals in all parts. The year afore, the boll of meal gave five merk, and this summer it was 18*s*. There ye may see the grace of God.'—*C. F.*

1564-5.

Jan.—The queen making a progress in Fife caused so much banqueting as to produce a scarcity of wild-fowl: 'partridges were sold for a crown a-piece.'—*Knox.*

1565.

Apr. 1.—The communion was administered in Edinburgh, and as it was near Easter, the few remaining Catholics met at mass. The reformed clergy were on the alert, and seized the priest, Sir James Carvet, as he was coming from the house where he had officiated. Knox tells us with what an absurd degree of leniency the offender was treated. They 'conveyed him,' says he, 'together with the master of the house, and one or two more of the assistants, to the Tolbooth, and immediately revested him with all his garments upon him, and so carried him to the Market Cross, where they set him on high, binding the chalice in his hand, and himself tied fast to the said Cross, where he tarried the space of one hour; during which time *the boys served him with his Easter eggs.*

'The next day, Carvet with his assistants were accused and convinced by an assize, according to the act of parliament; and, albeit for the same offence he deserved death, yet, for all punishment, he was set upon the Market Cross for the space of three or four hours, the hangman standing by and keeping him, [while] the boys and others were busy with eggs-casting.'

The queen sent an angry letter to the magistrates about this business; from which 'may be perceived how grievously the queen's majesty would have been offended if the mess-monger had been handled according to his demerit'—that is, hanged. —*Knox.*

Apr.—A discovery of antique remains was made at Inveresk, near Musselburgh, revealing the long-forgotten fact of the Romans once having had a settlement on that fine spot. Randolph, the English resident at Mary's court, communicated some account of the discovery to the Earl of Bedford. 'April 7, For certain there is found a cave beside Musselburgh, standing upon a number of pillars, made of tile-stones curiously wrought, signifying great antiquity, and strange monuments found in the same. This cometh to my knowledge, besides the common report, by th' assurance of Alexander Clerk, who was there to see it, which I will myself do within three or four days, and write unto your lordship the more certainty thereof, for I will leave nothing of it unseen.' 'April 18, The cave found beside Musselburgh seemeth to be some monument of the Romans, by a stone which was found, with these words graven upon him, APPOLLONI GRANNO Q. L. SABINIANUS PROC. AUG. Divers short pillars set upright upon the ground, covered with tile-stones, large and thick, torning into divers angles, and certain places like unto chynes [chimneys] to avoid smoke. This is all I can gather thereof.'

The reader will be amused at the difficulty which Randolph seems to have felt in visiting a spot not more than six miles from Edinburgh. He will, however, be equally gratified to know that the queen herself became interested in the preservation of the remains found on this occasion. Her treasurer's accounts contain an entry of twelvepence, paid to 'ane boy passand of Edinburgh, with ane charge of the queen's grace, direct to the bailies of Musselburgh, charging them to tak diligent heed and attendance that the monument of grit antiquity, new fundin, be nocht demolishit nor broken down.'

The monument here spoken of was, in reality, an altar dedicated to Apollo Grannicus, the Long-haired Apollo, by Sabinianus, proconsul of Augustus; while the cave with pillars was the hypocaust or heating-chamber of a bath, connected with a villa, of which further remains were discovered in January 1783. The spot where the antiquities were discovered in 1565 is occupied by the lawn in front of Inveresk House.

Reign of Mary.

1565–1567.

IN July 1565, Mary married her youthful cousin, Henry, Lord Darnley, son of the Earl of Lennox. This was a match not without its politic aspect, as things stood at that time, for, by accepting Darnley as her husband, the Scottish queen took a rival out of her way to the English throne, and added his pretensions to her own. As Darnley, however, was a Catholic, the union was disrelished by Queen Elizabeth, as well as by all the leaders of the Protestant interest in Scotland. A still greater objection to it lay in his weak and childish character.

Moray and his friends were thrown by the event into a rebellion; which, however, quickly ended in his defeat and exile. The queen then ruled for some time with the assistance of her husband and of her Italian secretary, David Riccio. In such circumstances, it was unavoidable that the confidence of her Protestant people should abate. Riccio was assassinated at Holyroodhouse, in the queen's presence (March 9, 1566). The horrible outrage took a strong hold of Mary's feelings, and was allowed too much to sway her subsequent actions. She seemed, however, to be reconciled to her husband; and not long after, her son, who afterwards became James VI., was born (June 19, 1566).

The childishness and low habits of Darnley completely unfitted him to become an adviser and help to the queen. As the only remaining resource, she began to give her confidence to the Earl of Bothwell and the Earl of Huntly, two nobles of great power, but whose administration could not bring her so much popularity. Bothwell was a man of coarse character, fully as much disposed as any man in that age to gain his ambitious ends by violence. He seems now to have thought that an opportunity was presented

for his acquiring a mastery in Scotland. He caused the wretched Darnley to be murdered at his lodging in the Kirk of Field, near Edinburgh (February 10, 1567). Being suspected and accused of this act, he submitted to a trial, but was able to overbear justice, and to maintain his place in the queen's councils.

Mary, consequently, suffered in reputation, though whether she was aware of Bothwell's guilt is to this day a matter of doubt; much less is it certain that she had, as has been suspected, a guilty knowledge of her husband's death.

Having procured the countenance of some of the nobility to his plans, Bothwell seized the queen near the river Almond (April 24), and conducted her to his castle of Dunbar, where he kept her a prisoner, as was generally believed, by her own consent. His wife being hastily divorced, he married the queen (May 15), and thus seemed to have fully attained the object of his ambition; but the Protestant leaders rose in arms, took the queen away from him, and drove him into banishment. Mary, as one suspected of horrible crimes, was imprisoned in Lochleven Castle (June 17), and forced to sign a deed of abdication in favour of her infant son, who was consequently crowned as James VI., with the Earl of Moray as regent during his minority (July 29).

1565.

'Ane guid summer and har'est.'—*C. F.*

Aug.—The queen and her husband were obliged, immediately after their marriage, to set about the suppression of a rebellion. The measure they adopted for raising troops was according to the custom and rule of the Scottish government. The feudal mode of raising an army was felt as a serious burden, particularly in the larger towns, where industry had attained, of course, the highest organisation. For the Rothschilds of Edinburgh, such as they were, there was another trouble. The mode of raising money adopted by Henry and Mary was not quite what would suit the views of modern men of that class. Sept. 27, 'Our soveranes causit certain of the principals of Edinburgh to come to them to Halyrudehouse, and after their coming, some of free will, and some brought agains their will, our soverane lady made ane orison to them, desiring them to lend her certain sowms of money, whilk they

refusit to do; and therefore they were commandit to *remain in ward within the auld tower* wherein my lord of Morray lodgit, wherein they remainit.' Ultimately, the two difficulties were in a manner solved by each other. On the 6th of October, the above-mentioned notables of the city 'agreeit with our soveranes in this manner, to lend their majesties ten thousand merks, upon the superiority of Leith, under reversion, . . . and alse to give their highnesses ane thousand pounds, *to suffer the haill town to remain at hame.*'

For some time after, the criminal records abound in cases of persons 'delatit for abiding from the queen's host.'

Nov.—The town-council of Edinburgh were accustomed annually, at this time, to bestow upon their chief a bullock, which was called *The Provost's Ox*, twelve pounds Scots being allowed for the purpose of buying the best that was to be had. They also now gave him a tun of wine, and twelve ells of velvet to make him a gown, as an acknowledgment of special services he had done to the city.

1566.

June 19.—A prince, who subsequently became James VI., was born to the queen in Edinburgh Castle, within that small irregularly shaped room, of about eight feet each way, which is still to be seen in the angle of the old palace.

Dec. 17.—The young prince was baptised at Stirling Castle, and named Charles James. The preparations in apparel and decorations were magnificent beyond everything of the kind hitherto known. 'The said prince was borne out of his chalmer to the chapel by the French ambassador, my Lady of Argyle, *cummer* for the Queen of England by commission, and Monsieur La Croc for the Duke of Savoy. All the barons and gentlemen bore prickets of wax, wha stood in rank on ilk side, frae the prince's chalmer door to the said chapel. Next the French ambassador, ane great serge of wax by the Earl of Athole, the salt-vat by the Earl of Eglintoun, the cude by the Lord Semple, the basin and laver by the Lord Ross; and at the chapel door, the prince was receivit by my Lord Sanct

Androis, with staff, mitre, cross, and the rest. The prince was baptisit in the said font' [which was 'twa stane wecht, of fine gold,' a gift from Queen Elizabeth], 'and their solemnities endit by near five hours afternoon, with singing and playing on organs.'—*D. O.*

It appears that at these festivities the skeleton was not wanting. 'There was sitting in the entry of the castle a poor man asking alms, having a young child upon his knee, whose head was so great [hydrocephalus?] that the body of the child could scarce bear it up. A certain gentleman perceiving it, could scarce refrain from tears, for fear of the evils he judged to be portended.'—*Knox.*

1566–7.

Feb. 10.—'. . . . at twa hours in the morning, there come certain traitors to the provost's house [in the Kirk of Field], wherein was our sovereign's husband Henry, and ane servant of his, callit William Taylor, lying in their naked beds; and there privily with wrang keys openit the doors, and come in upon the said prince, and there without mercy worried him and his said servant in their beds; and thereafter took him and his servant furth of that house, and cuist him naked in ane yard beside the Thief Raw, and syne come to the house again, and blew the house in the air, sae that there remainit not ane stane upon ane other, undestroyit. . . . . At five hours, the said prince and his servant was found lying dead in the said yard, and was ta'en into ane house in the Kirk of Field, and laid while [till] they were buriet.'—*D. O.*

Buchanan relates two 'prodigies' which happened in connection with the death of Darnley. 'One John Lundin, a gentleman of Fife, having long been sick of a fever, the day before the king was killed, about noon, raised himself a little in his bed, and, as if he had been astonished, cried out to those that stood by him, with a loud voice, "to go help the king, for the parricides were just then murdering him;" and a while after he called out with a mournful tone, "Now it is too late to help him; he is already murdered;" and he himself lived not long after he had uttered these words.' The other cir-

cumstance occurred just at the time the murder happened. 'Three of the familiar friends of the Earl of Athole, the king's cousin, men of reputation for valour and estate, had their lodgings not far from the king's. When they were asleep about midnight, there was a certain man seemed to come to Dugald Stewart, who lay next the wall, and to draw his hand gently over his beard and cheek, so as to awake him, saying, "Arise, they are offering violence to you." He presently awaked, and was considering the apparition within himself, when another of them cries out presently in the same bed, "Who kicks me?" Dugald answered, "Perhaps it is a cat, which used to walk about in the night;" upon which the third, who was not yet awake, rose presently out of his bed, and stood upon the floor demanding, "who it was that had given him a box on the ear." As soon as he had spoken, a person seemed to go out of the house by the door, and that not without some noise. Whilst they were descanting on what they had heard and seen, the noise of the blowing up of the king's house put them into a very terrible consternation.'

The Old Tolbooth, Edinburgh.

Regency of Moray.

1567–1570.

MARY remained a prisoner in Lochleven Castle for ten months, while Moray, as Regent, maintained a good understanding with England, and did much to enforce internal peace and order. At length (May 1568), the unhappy Queen made her escape, and threw herself into the arms of the powerful family of Hamilton. They raised for her a considerable body of retainers; but her army was overthrown at Langside by the Regent, and she had then no resource but to pass into England, and ask refuge with Queen Elizabeth. By her she was received with a show of civility, but was in reality treated as a prisoner.

Moray, whatever opinion may be entertained of his conduct towards his sister, proved a vigorous and just ruler, insomuch as to gain the title of the *Good Regent;* but he was early cut off in his course, falling a victim to private revenge at Linlithgow (January 23, 1569–70).

1567.

Oct.—The long-enduring system of predatory warfare carried on by the Borderers against England rendered them a lawless set at all times; but in the present state of the government, they were unusually troublesome. 'In all this time,' says the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 'frae the queen's grace' putting in captivity to this time, the thieves of Liddesdale made great hership on the poor labourers of the ground, and that through wanting of justice; for the realm was sae divided in sundry factions and conspirations, that there was nae authority obeyed, nor nae justice execute.'

'. . . . there was ane proclamation [October 10], to meet the Regent in Peebles, upon the 8 of November next, for the repressing of the thieves in Annandale and Eskdale; but my Lord Regent thinking they wald get advertisement, he prevented the day, and came over the water secretly, and lodged in Dalkeith; this upon the 19 day [October]; and upon the morrow he departed towards Hawick, where he came both secretly and suddenly, and there took thirty-four thieves whom he partly caused hang and partly drown; five he let free upon caution; and upon the 2nd day of November, he brought other ten with him to Edinburgh, and there put them in irons.'—*Bir.*

We have some trace of these men in the Lord Treasurer's accounts as inmates of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. On the 30th of November, thirty-two pounds are paid to Andro Lindsay, keeper of that prison, for the furnishing of meat and drink to Robert Elliot, alias *Clement's Hob*, and Archy Elliot, called *Archy Kene.* On the same day, twenty-three pounds four shillings are disbursed for a month's board in the same black hotel, for 'Robert Elliot, called *Mirk Hob;* Gavin Elliot, called *Gawin of Ramsiegill;* Martin Elliot, called *Martin of Heuchous;* Robert Elliot, son to *Elder Will;* Robert Elliot, called the *Vicar's Rob;* Robert Elliot, called *Hob of Thorlieshope;* Dandy Grosar, called *Richardtoncleucht;* and Robert Grosar, called *Son to Cockston.*'

Walter Scott of Harden, a famous Border chief, was this year married to Mary Scott of Dryhope, commonly called the *Flower of Yarrow.* The pair had six sons, from five of whom descended the families of Harden (which became extinct), Highchesters (now represented by Lord Polwarth), Raeburn (from which came Sir Walter Scott of Abbotsford), Wool, and Synton; and six daughters, all of whom were married to gentlemen of figure, and all had issue.

It is a curious consideration to the many descendants of Walter Scott of Harden, that his marriage-contract is signed by a notary, because none of the parties could write their names. The father-in-law, Scott of Dryhope, bound himself to find

Harden in horse meat and man's meat, at his own house, for a year and day; and five barons engaged that he should remove at the expiration of that period, without attempting to continue in possession by force.

Oct. 30.—Bessie Tailiefeir, in the Canongate, Edinburgh, having slandered Bailie Thomas Hunter by saying 'he had in his house ane false stoup [measure],' which was found not to be true, she was sentenced to be *brankit* and set on the cross for an hour.

The punishment of branking, which was a customary one for scolds, slanderers, and other offenders of a secondary class, consisted in having the head inclosed in an iron frame, from which projected a kind of spike, so as to enter the mouth and prevent speech.

The Branks.

Nov. 24.—'. . . at 2 afternoon, the Laird of Airth and the Laird of Wemyss met upon the Hie Gait of Edinburgh; and they and their followers faught a very bluidy skirmish, where there was many hurt on both sides with shot of pistol.'—*Bir.*

This is the first of a series of street fights by which the Hie Gait of Edinburgh was reddened during the reign of James VI., and which scarcely came to an end till his English reign was far advanced.

Dec. 15.—An act of parliament was passed to prevent horses being exported, it being found that so many had lately been taken to Bordeaux and other places abroad, as to cause 'great skaith' by the raising of prices at home.

Dec. 31.—'Robert Jack, merchant and burgess of Dundee, was hangit and quarterit for false coin called *Hardheads*, whilk he had brought out of Flanders.'—*Bir.* 'Fals lyons callit

hardheades, plakis, balbeis,[1] and other fals money,' is the description given in another record, *literatim*.

The hardhead was originally a French coin, denominated in Guienne *hardie*, and identical with the liard. It was of debased copper, and usually of the value of three-halfpence Scotch; but further debasement was oftener than once resorted to by Scottish rulers as a means of raising a little revenue.

1567–8.

Jan. 5.—It may somewhat modify the views generally taken of the destruction of relics of the ancient religion under the Protestant governments succeeding the Reformation, that John Lockhart of Bar was denounced rebel at this time for conveying John Macbrair forth of the castle of Hamilton, and 'for down-casting of images in the kirk of Ayr and other places.'

Mar. 4.—The Regent granted a license to Cornelius de Vois, a Dutchman, for nineteen years, to search for gold and silver in any part of Scotland, 'break the ground, mak sinks and pots therein, and to put labourers thereto,' as he might think expedient, with assurance of full protection from the government, paying in requital for every hundred ounces of gold or silver which could be purified by washing, eight ounces, and for every hundred of the same which required the more expensive process of a purification by fire, four ounces.—*P. C. R.*

Stephen Atkinson, who speculated in the gold mines of Scotland a generation later, gives us[2] some account of Cornelius de Vois, whom he calls a German lapidary, and who, he says, had come to Scotland with recommendations from Queen Elizabeth. According to this somewhat foolish writer, 'Cornelius went to view the said mountains in Clydesdale and Nydesdale, upon which mountains he got a small taste of small gold. This was a whetstone to sharpen his knife upon; and this natural gold tasted so sweet as the honeycomb

[1] Baubees, halfpence, from *bas billon*, a low piece of money.

[2] *Discoverie and Historie of the Gold Mynes in Scotland.* Written in 1619. Bannatyne Club, 1825.

in his mouth. And then he consulted with his friends at Edinburgh, and by his persuasions provoked them to adventure with him, showing them at first the natural gold, which he called the temptable gold, or alluring gold. It was in sterns, and some like unto birds' eyes and eggs: he compared it unto a woman's eye, which entiseth her lover into her bosom.' Cornelius was not inferior to his class in speculative extravagance. He found in his golden dreams a solution for the question regarding the poor. He saw Scotland and England 'both oppressed with poor people which beg from door to door for want of employment, and no man looketh to it.' But all these people were to find good and profitable employment if his projects were adopted.

It appears that Cornelius so far prevailed on the Scots, that they raised a stock of £5000 Scots, equal to about £416 sterling, and worked the mines under royal privileges. According to Atkinson, this adventurer 'had sixscore men at work in valleys and dales. He employed both lads and lasses, idle men and women, which before went a-begging. He profited by their work, and they lived well and contented.' They sought for the valuable metal by washing the detritus in the bottoms of the valleys, receiving from their employer a mark sterling for every ounce they realised. So long after as 1619, one John Gibson survived in the village of Crawford to relate how he had gathered gold in these valleys in pieces 'like birds' eyes and birds' eggs,' the best being found, he said, in Glengaber Water, in Meggat, which he sold for 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling per ounce to the Earl of Morton. Cornelius, within the space of thirty days, sent to the cunyie-house in Edinburgh as much as eight pounds-weight of gold, a quantity which would now bring £450 sterling.

What ultimately came of Cornelius's adventure does not appear. He vanishes notelessly from the field. We are told by Atkinson that the adventure was subsequently taken up by one Abraham Grey, a Dutchman, heretofore resident in England, commonly called *Graybeard*, from his having a beard which reached to his girdle. He hired country people at four-

pence a day, to wash the detritus of the valleys around Wanlockhead for gold; and it is added, that enough was found to make 'a very fair deep basin of natural gold,' which was presented by the Regent Morton to the French king, filled with gold pieces, also the production of Scotland.

The same valleys were afterwards searched for gold by an Englishman named George Bowes, who also sunk shafts in the rock, but probably with limited success, as has hitherto been experienced in ninety-nine out of every hundred instances, according to Sir Roderick Murchison.

'In consequence of an extremely dry summer, the yield of grain and herbage in 1567 was exceedingly defective. The ensuing winter being unusually severe, there was a sad failure of the means of supporting the domestic animals. A stone of hay came to be sold in Derbyshire at fivepence,[1] which seems to have been regarded as a starvation price. There was a general mortality among the sheep and horses. In Scotland, the opening of 1568 was marked by scarcity and all its attendant evils.

1568.

Sep. 8.—'Ane called James Dalgliesh, merchant, brought the pest in [to] Edinburgh.'—*D. O.*

According to custom in Edinburgh, when this dire visitor made his appearance, the families which proved to be infected were compelled to remove, with all their goods and furniture, out to the Burgh-moor, where they lodged in wretched huts hastily erected for their accommodation. They were allowed to be visited by their friends, in company with an officer, after eleven in the forenoon; any one going earlier was liable to be punished with death—as were those who concealed the pest in their houses. Their clothes were meanwhile purified by boiling in a large caldron erected in the open air, and their houses were 'clengit' by the proper officers. All these regulations were under the care of two citizens selected for the purpose, and called *Bailies of the Muir;* for each of whom, as for the

[1] Holinshed's *Chronicle.*

cleansers and bearers of the dead, a gown of gray was made, with a white St Andrew's cross before and behind, to distinguish them from other people. Another arrangement of the day was, 'that there be made twa close biers, with four feet, coloured over with black, and [ane] white cross with ane bell to be hung upon the side of the said bier, whilk sall mak warning to the people.'

The public policy was directed rather to the preservation of the untainted, than to the recovery of the sick. In other words, selfishness ruled the day. The inhumanity towards the humbler classes was dreadful. Well might *Maister Gilbert Skeyne, Doctour in Medicine*, remark in his little tract on the pest, now printed in Edinburgh: 'Every ane is become sae detestable to other (whilk is to be lamentit), and specially the puir in the sight of the rich, as gif they were not equal with them touching their creation, but rather without saul or spirit, as beasts degenerate fra mankind.' This worthy mediciner tells us, indeed, that he was partly moved to publish his book by 'seeand the puir in Christ inlaik [perish] without assistance of support in body, all men detestand aspection, speech, or communication with them.'

This pestilence, lasting till February, is said to have carried off 2500 persons in Edinburgh, which could not be much less than a tenth of the population. From the double cause of the pest and the absence of the Regent in England, there were 'nae diets of Justiciary halden frae the hinderend of August to the second day of March.' Such of the inhabitants of the Canongate as were affected had to go out and live in huts on the Hill (by which is probably meant Salisbury Crags), and there stay till they were 'clengit.' A collection of money was made among the other inhabitants for their support.

The distresses of pestilence were preceded and attended by those of a famine, which suffered a great and sudden abatement in the month of August 1569, perhaps in consequence of favourable appearances in the crop then about to be gathered. At least we are informed by the *Diurnal of Occurrents* that on that day, in the forenoon, 'the boll of ait meal was sauld for

£3, 12*s.*, the boll of wheat for £4, 10*s.*, and the boll of beare for £3; but ere twa afternoon upon the same day, the boll of ait meal was sauld for 40*s.*, 38*s.*, and 36*s.*, the boll of wheat for 50*s.*, and the beare for 33*s.*'[1]

Little doubt is now entertained that the exanthematous or eruptive disease called long ago the Pest, and now the Plague, and which has happily been unknown in the British Islands for two centuries, was the consequence of miasma arising from crowded and filthy living, acting on bodies predisposed by deficient aliment and other causes, and that at a certain stage it assumed a contagious character. It will be found throughout the present work that the malady generally, though not invariably, followed dearth and famine. The pest was not the only epidemic which afflicted our ancestors in consequence of erroneous living and misery endured by great multitudes of people. There was one called the *land-ill* or *wame-ill*, which seems to have been of the nature of cholera. In an early chronicle, is the following striking notice of this kind of malady in connection with famine as occurring in 1439: 'The samen time there was in Scotland a great dearth, for the boll of wheat was at 40*s.*, and the boll of ait meal 30*s.*; and verily the dearth was sae great that there died a passing [number of] people for hunger. And als the land-ill, the wame-ill, was so violent, that there died mae that year than ever there died, owther in pestilence, or yet in ony other sickness in Scotland. And that samen year the pestilence came in Scotland, and began at Dumfries, and it was callit the *Pestilence but Mercy*, for there took it nane that ever recoverit, but they died within twenty-four hours.'

Oct.—At the time when the pest broke out in Edinburgh, there lived in the city a young man of the middle class, bearing the name of George Bannatyne, who was somewhat addicted to the vain and unprofitable art of poesy. He was acquainted with the writings of his predecessors, Dunbar, Douglas, Henryson, Montgomery, Scott, and others, through the manuscripts to which alone they had as yet been committed. It was not

[1] The pest was severe in London in autumn 1569, whether by communication from Scotland does not appear.

then the custom to print literary productions unless for some reason external to their literary character, and these poems, therefore, were existing in the same peril of not being preserved to posterity as the works of Ennius in the days of Augustus. In all probability, the greater part of them, if not nearly the whole, would have been lost, but for an accidental circumstance connected with the plague now raging.

In that terrible time, when hundreds were dying in the city, and apprehensions for their own safety engrossed every mind,

Bannatyne House, Strathmore.

the young man George Bannatyne passed into retirement, and for three months devoted himself to the task of transcribing the fugitive productions of the Scottish muse into a fair volume. His retreat is supposed to have been the old manor-house of Newtyle, near the village of Meigle in Strathmore, and nothing could be more likely, as this was the country-house of his father, who seems to have been a prosperous lawyer in Edinburgh. In the short space of time mentioned, George had copied in a good hand, from the mutilated and obscure manu-

scripts he possessed, three hundred and seventy-two poems, covering no less than eight hundred folio pages; a labour by which he has secured the eternal gratitude of his countrymen, and established for himself a fame granted to but few for their own compositions. The volume—celebrated as the BANNATYNE MANUSCRIPT—still exists, under the greatest veneration, in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, after yielding from its ample stores the materials of Ramsay's, Hailes's, and other printed selections.

1569.

May.—'. . . . the Regent made progress first to Stirling, where four priests of Dumblane were condemnit to the death, for saying of mess against the act of parliament; but he remittit their lives, and causit them to be bund to the mercat cross with their vestments and chalices in derision, where the people cast eggs and other villanie at their faces, by the space of ane hour; and thereafter their vestments and chalices were burnt to ashes. From that he passed to Sanctandrois, where a notable sorcerer called Nic Neville was condemnit to the death and brunt; and a Frenchman callit Paris, wha was ane of the devisers of the king's death, was [Aug. 16] hangit in Sanctandrois, and with him William Stewart, Lyon King of Arms, for divers points of witchcraft and necromancy.'—*H. K. J.*

1569–70.

Jan. 23.—'The Earl of Moray, the Good Regent, was slain in Linlithgow by James Hamilton of Bothwell-haugh, who shot the said Regent with a gun out at ane window, and presently thereafter fled out at the back, and leapt on a very good horse, which the Hamiltons had ready waiting for him; and, being followed speedily, after that spur and wand had failed him, he drew forth his dagger, and struck his horse behind; whilk causit the horse to leap a very broad stank; by whilk means he escaped.'—*Bir.*

Regencies of Lennox and Mar.

1570–1572.

THE death of the Regent Moray proved a great blow to the infant king's party, for there was no man of equal mark and energy to take his place. The friends of the exiled queen raised their heads again, and in a force which might well give the ruling party some anxiety. Seeing the imminence of the danger, Elizabeth yielded to the wishes of Mary's enemies, and sent an army under the Earl of Sussex into Scotland in April. The sufferings thus occasioned in certain districts were dreadful, and the principal sufferers were the poor.

At the dictation of Elizabeth—for the Protestant lords in Scotland were wholly subservient to her—Matthew, Earl of Lennox, paternal grandfather of the young king, was elected Regent (July 17, 1570). The real ruling spirit was the Earl of Morton, who lost no time in proceeding against some friends of Queen Mary in the north. Taking the town of Brechin, which had been held for her, he caused thirty-one of the garrison to be mercilessly put to death.

Lennox being killed in a surprise at Stirling (September 3, 1571), the Earl of Mar was chosen to the vacant regency. Under him the war advanced with even increased ferocity, until it came to be a rule that no quarter should be given on either side. In little more than a twelvemonth, this gentle-natured noble sunk under the burden of government; 'the maist cause of his deid was that he lovit peace, and could not have the same.'—*D. O.* The Earl of Morton, the ablest man of the whole party since Moray, but merciless and greedy in the extreme, succeeded, with the full approbation of the Mistress of the Protestant party of Scotland.

1570.

May.—Lord Fleming being a conspicuous leader on the queen's side, and captain of Dumbarton Castle, his lands in the

counties of Lanark and Dumbarton were amongst those which fell under the vengeance of the ruling party. As one of the enormities perpetrated by the Earl of Lennox and his men on Lord Fleming's estates—'they have slain and destroyit the deer of his forest of Cumbernauld, and the white kye and bulls of the said forest, to the great destruction of policy and hinder of the commonweal. For that kind of kye and bulls has been keepit thir mony years in the said forest, and the like was not maintenit in ony other parts of the Isle of Albion, as is weel knawn.'—Dalyell's *Illustrations of Scottish History.*

The 'white kye and bulls' here spoken of are believed to have been a remnant of the original wild cattle of the Caledonian forest. Boece describes them as white, with lion-like manes, fierce, untamable, and shunning human society—so misanthropical, indeed, that they would eat nothing which the hand of man had touched. He, like the writer quoted above, says that none of them were left but only in Cumbernauld. Leslie, however, tells us that they also existed in the parks of Stirling and Kincardine. Latterly, there have been herds of the same oxen (but perhaps imported) in the Duke of Hamilton's park of Cadzow, in Lanarkshire; in the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry's, at Drumlanrig; and in Lord Tankerville's park at Chillingham, in Northumberland.

July 4.—'. . . at 10 hours at night, there was ane earthquake in the city of Glasgow, and lastit but ane short space; but it causit the inhabitants of the said city to be in great terror and fear.'—*D. O.*

'In this time there was ane monstrous fish seen in Loch Fyne, having great een in the head thereof, and at some times wald stand aboon the water as high as the mast of a ship; and the said [creature] had upon the head thereof [twa crowns, ane] aboon little, and the downmaist crown meikle; whilk was reportit by wise men, that the same was ane sign and taiken of ane sudden alteration within this realm.'—*D. O.*

The low intelligence of the age is seen in nothing more con-

spicuously than in the numerous tales of animals alleged to have been seen, with peculiarities impossible in nature, and believed to be ominous of public calamity. The appearance of a similar animal in another of the Argyllshire lochs in 1510 is noted by Hector Boece, on the information of Duncan Campbell, a noble knight. This 'terrible beast' was 'of the bigness of a greyhound, and footed like a gander. Issuing out of the water early in the morning about midsummer,' he 'did very easily and without any force or straining of himself, overthrow huge oaks with his tail, and therewith killed outright three men that hunted him with three strokes of his said tail, the rest of them saving themselves in trees thereabouts, whilst the aforesaid monster returned to the water. Those that are given to the observation of rare and uncouth sights, believe that this beast is never seen but against some great trouble and mischief to come upon the realm of Scotland.'

In Holinshed's *Chronicle* (1577), the Firth of Forth is said occasionally to contain 'sundry fishes of a monstrous shape, with cowls hanging over their heads like unto monks, and in the rest resembling the body of man. They show themselves above the water to the navel, howbeit they never appear but against some great pestilence of men or murrain of cattle; wherefore their only sight doth breed great terror to the Scottish nation, who are very great observers of uncouth signs and tokens.'

On the whole, it is most likely that some species of the *Cetacea* or *Phocidæ* was concerned in giving rise to these tales of sea-monsters.

Sir William Sinclair of Roslin, who was living at this time, thus notes the appearance of an extraordinary animal in the year 1500: 'Hutcheon Frizell in Glenconie, the best and maist in estimation of the Lord Lovat's kin, he and ane servand with him, being at the hunting on ane hie land amang very rank heather, twa arrow-draught frae him he heard like the call of ane ratch approaching near and near, while [till] at the last he saw it, and shot at it ane dead straik with ane arrow; where it lap and welterit up and down ane spear length of

breadth and length. The heather and bent being mair nor ane foot of height, it being in the deid-thraw, brint all to the eird [earth], as it had been muirburn. It was mair nor twa eln of length, as great as the coist of ane man, without feet, having ane mickle fin on ilk side, with ane tail and ane terrible head. His great deer-dogs wald not come near it. It had great speed. They callit it ane dragon.'

He commemorates a sea-animal not less wonderful, which was thrown upon the coast of Northumberland in 1544. 'At the seaside at Bamburgh, there was nae kind of fish ta'en by the space of twa year; but the sea made ane great routing and horrible noise, which was by [beside] custom and use. So it chancit, at the hie spring [tide], that ane terrible beast was casten in dead, of the quantity [bulk] of ane man. Nae man could devise ane thing mair terrible, with horns on the head of it, red een, with misshapen face, with lucken [webbed] hands and feet, and ane great rumple hinging to the eird. It consumit and stinkit sae, that in short time nae man nor beast might come near it; but all the country about saw it before, and sundry took great fear and dreadour for the sicht of it a lang space after. It was callit a Sea-devil. Witness the Laird of Mow.'

'The summer right guid, and all victuals guid cheap; the August right fair and guid weather.'—*C. F.*

Sep. 1.—An extraordinary act of Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis, sometimes called KING OF CARRICK, on account of the great power which he possessed in that district.

The revenues of the abbey of Crossraguel, in Carrick, had been bestowed upon Master Allan Stewart, who thus became Commendator of the abbey, or secular abbot. The earl had got a feu of the abbey from a predecessor of Stewart, but it never was confirmed. After some fruitless endeavours to obtain a confirmation from Stewart, the earl inveigled him to the castle of Dunure, a strong fortalice situated on a rocky part of the coast overlooking the Atlantic.

Here the Commendator was honourably entertained—'gif a prisoner can think ony entertainment pleasing. But after that certain days were spent, and that the earl could not obtain the feus of Crossraguel according to his awn appetite, he determined to prove gif a collation could work that which neither dinner nor supper could do of a long time. And so the said Master was carried to a secret chalmer. With him passit the honourable earl, his worshipful brother, and sic as was appointed to be servants at that banquet. In the chalmer there was a great iron chimney, under it a fire; other great provision was not seen.' The earl then laid before Stewart certain letters, which he wished him to subscribe. This the captive refused to do, declaring that he was not there by his own free will. The earl, seeing that he 'could not come to his purpose by fair means, commandit his cooks to prepare the banquet. And so first they flayit the sheep, that is, they took off the abbot's claithes, even to his skin; and next they band him to the chimney, his legs to the one end and his arms to the other; and so they began to beet the fire, sometimes to his buttocks, sometimes to his legs, sometimes to his shoulders and arms. And that the roast should not burn, but that it might roast in sop, they spared not flamming with oil. (Lord, look thou to sic cruelty!) And, that the crying of the miserable man sould not be heard, they closed his mouth. . . . In that torment they held the poor man, while that ofttimes he cried "for God's sake to despatch him; he had as meikle gold in his awn purse as wald buy powder eneugh to shorten his pain."

'The famous King of Carrick and his cooks, perceiving the roast to be eneugh, commandit it to be tane from the fire, and the earl himself began the grace in this manner: "*Benedicite, Jesus, Maria!* you are the most obstinate man that ever I saw! Gif I had known that ye had been so stubborn, I wold not for a thousand crowns handled you so. I never did so to man, before you."'—*Ban.*

Stewart's own account, in the complaint which he afterwards rendered to the Privy Council, is different, in as far as it

describes him as yielding to the earl's desire, in order to save his life and free himself from the pain he was suffering. He was afterwards relieved from Dunure by the Laird of Bargeny, an enemy of Cassillis. The government, however, was too weak and in too much trouble to avenge his cause against the earl, who thenceforth continued to draw the revenues of Crossraguel. But 'my lord gave the abbot some money to live upon, whilk contentit him all his days.'—*Hist. Ken.*

Oct. 4.—John Kello, minister of Spott, in Haddingtonshire, was executed in Edinburgh for the murder of his wife. The confession of this wretched man shows that he was tempted to the horrible act by a desire to marry more advantageously, his circumstances being somewhat straitened. He deliberated on the design for forty days; tried poison, which failed; then accomplished it by strangulation. His confession admits the amiable character of the victim; nay, he tells that, 'in the verie death, she could not believe I bure her onie evil will, but was glad, as she then said, to depart, gif her death could do me either vantage or pleasure.' According to a contemporary recital, 'he stranglit her in her awn chamber, and thereafter closit the ordinar door that was within the house for his awn passage, and sae finely seemit to colour that purpose after he had done it, that immediately he passed to the kirk, and in the presence of the people made sermon as if he had done nae sic thing. And when he was returnit hame, he brought some neighbours into his house to vissie his wife, and callit at the ordinar door, but nae answer was made. Then he passed to another back passage with the neighbours, and that was fund open, and she hinging stranglit at the roof of the house. Then, with admiration, he cryit, as though he had knawn naething of the purpose, and they for pity in like manner cryit out. But, in [the] end, finding himself prickit with the judgments of God, of the grievous punishment wherewith transgressors have been plagued in time bygane, he thought gude to communicate his fact to

ane of his brether in office, wha then was schoolmaster at Dunbar.'—*H. K. J.*

Oct.—In those days, while as yet there were not only no newspapers, but no ready means of conveying letters, true intelligence made its way slowly, and the most ridiculous rumours obtained circulation. For example, on John Knox being at this time struck with apoplexy, 'a bruit [report] went through Scotland and England that he was become the most deformed creature that ever was seen; that his face was turned awry to his neck; and that he would never preach or speak again.' In the ensuing year, while the venerable Reformer lived at St Andrews, it was rumoured, and very generally believed as a serious truth, that he had been banished from the town, 'because in his yard he had raised some sancts, among whom came up the devil with horns; which, when his servant, Richard Bannatyne, saw, he ran wŭd [mad], and so died.'

1571.

'This year, in the month of July, Mr John Davidson, ane of our regents [that is, college professors], made a play at the marriage of Mr John Colvin, whilk I saw playit in Mr Knox's presence, wherein, according to Mr Knox's doctrine, the castle of Edinburgh was besieged, taken, and the captain, with ane or twa with him, hangit in effigy.'—*Ja. Mel.*

This dramatic performance represented an unfulfilled prophecy of the Reformer. When Kirkaldy of Grange, after many years of zealous service in the reforming cause, declared for the Queen, and held out Edinburgh Castle against the Regent, Knox, who had loved him much, was deeply grieved. He felt, however, no doubt as to the ultimate triumph of his own cause against all such opposition, and it was perhaps no great venture for so acute a person to utter the prediction that, notwithstanding the trust which Kirkaldy put in that powerful fortress, it should yet run like a sandglass; it should spew out the captain with shame; he should not come out at the gate, but over the walls. Mr Robert Hamilton, minister of St

Andrews, asking his warrant for his vaticination, he said: 'God is my warrant, and ye shall see it.' 'As the other was scarcely satisfied,' says James Melville, 'the next sermon from the pulpit, he repeats the threatenings, and adds thereto: "Thou that will not believe my warrant, shall see it with thy e'es that day, and shall say: 'What have I to do here?'" This sermon the said Mr Robert's servant wrote. . . . '—*Ja. Mel.*

This year 'great weirs in the north land betwixt the Gordons and Forbeses, and the Forbeses put till the warst, and mony slain of them, and towns wasted and burnt.'—*C. F.*

Adam Gordon, brother of the Earl of Huntly, was a leader in these broils, and of some avail in supporting the queen's cause. He stained his name by a frightful act of cruelty. The house of Towie, belonging to Alexander Forbes, was maintained by his lady against Gordon. On his sending to demand its surrender, the brave dame answered that she could not give it up without direction from her husband. Gordon then set fire to it, and burnt the heroic woman, her children and servants—twenty-seven persons in all!

Aug. 1.—'There was ane sow farried in William Davidson's house, flesher in Edinburgh, of thirteen gryces [pigs], of the whilk there was ane a monster. It had the gruntle [snout] in the heich of the heid, and under that it had twa een, ane nose and mouth, ane brow, ane cheek, ane tongue, and lugs like to the similitude of man in all sorts; the remanent thereof was like ane other gryce without hair. This portendit some mischief to this burgh.'—*D. O.*

Aug. 28.—The Regent Lennox held a parliament at Stirling, where he made an oration to the nobility. The king, five years old, was present, and, while his grandfather was speaking, he looked up and espied a hole in the roof, occasioned by 'the lack of some sclates.' At the conclusion of the harangue, the child remarked: 'I think there is ane hole in this parliament.'

'In effect, his majesty's words came true; for the same

month, about the end of the parliament (September 3), there came to Striviling in the night, ere the nobility or town knew, the Earl of Huntly, the queen's lieutenant, Claud Hamilton, with the Lairds of Buccleuch and Ferniehirst, who, ere day brake, had possessed themselves of the town, crying "God and the Queen!" so that those that were for the King and his Regent could not, for the multitude of enemies, come to a head. Wherever they could see any that belonged to the Regent, him they killed without mercy. The Regent being taken prisoner by the Laird of Buccleuch, and horsed behind him, ane wicked fellow lift up his jack and shot him through the body with a pistol. . . . . [On a counter-surprise, the queen's party] departed the town immediately. The Earl of Mar was declared Regent, and concluded the parliament. This was the hole which the young king did see in the parliament, although he meant nothing less.'—*Bal.*

Dec. 24.—About this time, there was apprehended 'one that keepit ane hostelry at Brechin, who before, at divers times, had murdered sundry that came to lodge with him, the wife being also as busy as the man, with a mell [mallet], to fell their guests sleeping in their beds.'—*Ban.*

1572.

Mar.—The condition of the ordinary places of worship in this time of civil war is sketched in the *Lamentation of Lady Scotland*, printed by Lekprevik in 1572:

'The rooms appointit people to consider,
To hear God's word, where they suld pray together,
Are now convertit in sheep-cots and faulds,
Or else are fallen, because nane them uphalds.
The parish kirks, I ween, they sae misguide,
That nane for wind and rain therein may bide:
Therefore nae pleasure tak they of the temple,
Nor yet to come where nocht is to contemple,
But craws and dows, cryand and makand beir,
That nane throuchly the minister may hear.
But feathers, filth, and dung does lie abroad,
Where folk should sit to hear the word of God;

Whilk is occasion to the adversaries,
To mock and scorn sic things before your eyes.
Thus to disdain the house of orison,
Does mak folk cauld to their devotion ;
And als they do disdain to hear God's word,
Thinking the same to be ane jesting bourd ;
They go to labour, drinking, or to play,
And not to you,[1] upon the Sabbath day.'

The civil war told nowhere with more severity than on Edinburgh, which was the scene of the principal transactions. The bringing of victuals or coal to the city was forbidden by the beleaguering troops under pain of death, and the penalty was exacted in many instances. The consequence was 'great penury and scant of vivres, sae that all was at ane exceeding dearth.'—*D. O.* In May, oatmeal was nine shillings of the native money per peck; eleven ounces of wheaten bread cost 8*d.*, 'and baps of nine [ounces] for 12*d.*' It was found necessary to demolish some houses for the sake of the wood, to be used as fuel. At the commencement of a truce on the 22d of July, the meal had risen to twelve shillings, the boll of wheat to ten pounds, and a carcass of beef to sixteen pounds. On that day, 'after noon, the victuals whilk was keepit to ane dearth was brought to Leith and sauld, the meal for five shillings the peck, . . . and [sae] very mickle bread baken, that it that was sauld for sixteen pennies was sauld for six pennies. Thanks to God.' During the scarcity, ale not being to be had, a drink of vinegar and water was substituted.—*D. O.*

Apr. 16.—From the day here noted to the 8th of June, the war between the queen's party in Edinburgh and the king's beyond the city was conducted on the principle of *No quarter.* All who were taken on either side were presently put to death. The common belief was, that this frightful system originated with Morton, who conceived that by such severity the war would sooner cease. In the end, both parties, 'wearied of execution daily made, were content to cease from such rigour, and use fair wars, as in former times.'—*Spot.*

[1] The Lady Scotland is understood to address 'the richt honorable and godly learnit gentleman, the Laird of Dun, minister of God's word.'

In the same year, Mr Andrew Douglas, minister of Dunglass, was first tortured, and then hanged, for publicly rebuking Morton on account of his living with the widow of Captain Cullen.

Oct. 20.—'The Earl of Mar, Regent, ended his life about three hours in the morning. It was constantly affirmed, that about the time of his death, the trough of the water of Montrose, where it runneth through his lands, was dry, the water running nevertheless above [higher up]. At the same time, a violent wind drave a great number of sheep from the links of Montrose into the sea.'—*Cal.*

Some events of the kind did certainly occur about the time of the Regent's death; but, contrary to all rule in such matters, they came after that event, if we are to believe another historian, who places them under November, and describes them as follows: 'In this mean time was ane great ferly in Montrose. By the space of six hours, the water thereof was dry in the sea, and during the whilk space the people past within the said sea, and got sundry fishes.'—*D. O.*

Edinburgh Castle, *restored* as in 1573.

Regency of Morton.

1572–1578.

THE Earl of Morton had no sooner assumed the reins of government, than his vigorous talents began to be felt. The chief strength of Mary's friends was in Edinburgh Castle, held for her by Kirkaldy of Grange. All the means at the Regent's command proving insufficient to reduce this fortress, he obtained from England an army of 1500 men, commanded by Sir William Drury, and provided with artillery. The castle stood a siege of three weeks, and was then obliged to yield (May 29, 1573). With mean vindictiveness, Morton sent the gallant Kirkaldy to the gallows. Maitland of Lethington might have shared the same fate, if it had not been anticipated either by a natural death or suicide.

Morton was, on the whole, a serviceable, though not a just or clement ruler. It was his policy, arising from his love of money, to punish his adversaries rather by fines than bloodshed. Under this ruling passion, he tampered with the coin, sold justice, and cheated the church of its revenues. It was supposed that he had concealed large treasures in his castle of Dalkeith ; but we have no certain account of their ever being found, and probably the popular notions on the subject were exaggerated.

Under Morton, a slight move was made towards the establishment of a kind of Episcopacy in the church, though the persons he appointed to the sees were mere creatures who consented to be receivers of the revenues on his account. The general feeling of the people continued to be decidedly in favour of the simple Presbyterian polity.

Meanwhile the young king was reared in great seclusion in Stirling Castle, under the care of the celebrated scholar George Buchanan. His acquirements, at a very early age, were such as to raise great hopes of his future rule. In reality, his character

was a strange mixture of cleverness and weakness, of wit and folly. His greatest deficiency was in a courageous will to pursue the ends of justice.

The regency of Morton came to a premature conclusion in consequence of a combination raised against him by the Earls of Athole and Argyll; and James became nominally the acting ruler (March 1578), ere he had completed his twelfth year.

1572.

Nov. 18.—'. . . . in the morning, was seen a star northward, very bright and clear, in the constellation of Cassiopeia, at the back of her chair; which, with three chief fixed stars of the said constellation, made a geometrical figure lozenge-wise, of the learned men called *rhombus*. This star, at the first appearing, seemed bigger than Jupiter, and not much less than Venus when she seemeth greatest . . . the said star never changed his[1] place . . . and so continued (by little and little appearing less) the space of sixteen months; at what time it was so small, that rather thought, by exercise of oft viewing, might imagine the place, than any eye could judge the presence of the same.'—*Holinshed.*

This was the celebrated *Star of Tycho*, so called because Tycho Brahé made it the subject of observation. The Danish astronomer is known to have first observed it a few days before the date assigned by Holinshed—namely, on the 11th of November, while taking an evening walk in the fields. From the suddenness of its appearance and its very great brightness, he suspected that his sense was deceived, and was only convinced he saw truly when he found some peasants gazing at the imposing stranger with as much astonishment as himself. It has been regarded as an example of a class of stars which move in periods between remote and comparatively near points in space; and as there was a similar object seen in 945 and 1264, it was supposed that the period of this star was somewhat over 300 years. But 'the period of 300 years, which Goodriche conjectured, has been reduced by Kiell and Pigot to 150 years.'

[1] The word *its* did not then exist, and writers were forced to use either *his* or *her* instead.

1572–3.

'This year, a great and sharp frost almost continually lasted from before the feast of All Saints till after the feast of Epiphany of our Lord, with sometimes great and deep snows, and sometimes rains, which freezed as fast as the same fell to the ground, wherethrough at Wrotham, in Kent, and many other places, the arms and boughs of trees, being overcharged with ice, broke off, and fell from the stocks . . . . also the wind continued north and east till after the Ascension Day, with sharp frosts and snows, whereby followed a late spring.' —*Stowe.*

1573.

Apr. 3.—The gipsies, who are usually said to have wandered into Europe from the East, are first heard of in Scotland in 1505, and again in 1540, when a writ of the Privy Seal was passed in favour of 'John Faw, Lord and Earl of Little Egypt,' enabling him to rule his company in conformity with the laws of his pretended country. First accepted as noble refugees, possessing a semi-religious character, they were in time discovered to be mere rogues and vagabonds. It was now declared in the Privy Council, that 'the commonweal of this realm was greatumly damnifiet and harmit through certain vagabond, idle, and counterfeit people of diver nations, falsely named Egyptians, living on stowth and other unlawful means.' These people were commanded to settle to fixed habitations and honest industry; otherwise it should be competent to seize and throw them into the nearest prison, when, if they could not give caution for a due obedience to this edict, they were 'to be scourgit throughout the town or parish, and sae to be imprisonit and scourgit fra parish to parish, while [till] they be utterly renderit furth of this realm.' —*P. C. R.*

Little more than three years onward (August 27, 1576), it was declared that this act had 'wantit execution'—a very common misfortune to acts of council in those days; and it was found that 'the said idle vagabonds has continuit in their wicked and mischievous manner of living, committing murders,

theft, and abusing the simple and ignorant people with sorcery and divination.' Men in authority were now enjoined to stricter courses with these wanderers, on pain of being held as their accomplices.

May 2.—An English force having come to help the Regent in winning Edinburgh Castle, the operations of the siege commenced by the fixing up of twenty 'great pieces' at four several places around the ancient fortress. 'They shot so hard continually, that the second day they had beat down wholly three towers. The Laird of Grange would not give over, but shot at them continually, both with great shot and small; so that there was a very great slaughter amongst the English cannoneers.'—*Bir.*

Mr Robert Hamilton, minister of St Andrews, was in Edinburgh at this time, along with the servant who had written down John Knox's prediction regarding the fate of Kirkaldy (see page 51). According to James Melville, 'they gaed up to the Castle-hill, and saw the forewark of the castle all demolished, and running like a sandy brae; they saw the men of weir all set in order. The captain, with a little staff in his hand, taken down over the walls upon the ladders, and Mr Robert, troubled with the thrang of the people, says: "Go, what have I ado here?" In going away, the servant remembers his master of the sermon and the words, wha was compelled to glorify God, and say he was a true prophet.'

Aug. 3.—'William Kirkaldy of Grange, knight, sometime captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, and James Mosman, goldsmith, were harlit in twa carts backward, frae the Abbey to the cross of Edinburgh, where they, with Mr James [Kirkaldy] and James Cockie, were hangit,' 'for keeping of the said castle against the king and his regent.'—*D. O. Bir.*

Such was the dismal end of one who had undoubtedly been a most valiant soldier, though, it must be added, an unsteady politician, and too much a follower of private ends in public affairs. When the castle surrendered, Kirkaldy fell into the power of the Regent Morton. He offered all he possessed for

his life. But the Reformer's prophecy was to be fulfilled, and how far it served to fulfil itself, we may surmise from what Morton wrote to the English agent. 'Considering,' he says, 'what has been, and daily is, *spoken by the preachers, that God's plague will not cease while* [till] *the land be purged of blood*, and having regard that such as are interested by the death of their friends, the destruction of their houses, and away taking of their goods, could not be satisfied by any offer made to me in particular . . . . I deliberated to let justice proceed.'

Mr David Lindsay, who had gone with Kirkaldy's fruitless offer, 'the morn by nine hours comes again to the captain, the Laird of Grange [who was now confined under a guard in a house in the High Street], and taking him to a fore-stair of the lodging apart, resolves him it behoved him to suffer. "O, then, Mr David (says he), for our auld friendship, and for Christ's sake, leave me not." . . . . Sae, about three hours afternoon, he was brought out, and Mr David with him, and about four, the sun being wast about the northward nook of the steeple, he was put aff the ladder, and his face first fell to the east, but within a little while, turned about to the west, and there remained against the sun; at whilk time Mr David, ever present, says he marked him, when all thought he was away [dead], to lift up his hands that were bund before him, and lay them down again saftly; whilk moved him with exclamation to glorify God before all the people.'

The burgh records of Glasgow, of which liberal excerpts have been published by the Maitland Club,[1] throw much light on manners and the state of society, and also on the burghal or municipal customs. Glasgow was then a little town, undistinguished from any other of its size, excepting in its university and a small commerce, chiefly of a coasting description.

The quarrels, flytings (scoldings), and acts of personal violence form by far the most conspicuous entries in these records. Men strike women, women clapperclaw each other,

[1] Under the care of John Smith, youngest, the secretary of the Club. 1832.

and even the dignitaries of the town are assailed on the street and in their council-house. Whingers (that is, swords) and pistols are frequently used in these conflicts, and sometimes with dire effects. As examples—

April 9, 1574.—'Alexander Curry and Marion Smith, spouses, are found in the wrang for troublance done by them to Margaret Hunter, in casting down of two pair of sheets, tramping them in the gutter, and striking of the said Margaret.' Surety is given that Alexander and Marion shall in future abstain from striking each other; and 'gif they flyte, to be *brankit*'—that is, invested with the kind of iron bridle, with a tongue retroverted into the mouth, of which a description has already been given.

One common species of case is an attack of one female upon another, 'striking of her, scarting of her, and dinging her to the erd' (earth); in one instance, 'shooting of her down in her awn fire.' Injurious words often accompany or provoke these violent acts. Bartilmo Lawteth strikes 'ane poor wife' to the effusion of her blood. Ninian Swan strikes Marion Simpson with 'ane tangs' (pair of tongs), and knocks her down—she, however, having previously spit in his face.

In June 1589, Thomas Miln, chirurgeon, was brought before the magistrates for slanderous speeches against them, and for applying to the town itself an epithet which now, at least, appears strangely inapplicable—the Hungry Town of Glasgow. He was sentenced to appear at the cross and openly confess his fault.

Much light is thrown on the character of the age by the magistrates ordering 'every booth-halder [shopkeeper] to have in readiness within the booth ane halbert, jack, and steel bonnet, for eschewing of sic inconveniences as may happen, conform to the auld statute made thereanent.'

The streets of the town appear to have been kept much in the same state in which we now find those of neglected country villages, yet not without efforts towards a better order of things. The ordinances for good order may be said to prove the disorder. It is statute (1574) 'that there be nae middings laid upon the fore-gate [front street], nor yet in the Green, and that

nae fleshers toom their uschawis upon the fore-gate, and that nae stanes or timber lie on the gate langer nor year and day.' In 1577, this statute is renewed in nearly the same words, showing that it was but imperfectly obeyed; and next year there is a simple order 'that the haill middings be removed off the Hie Gait, and that nane scrape on the Hie Gait.'

Several allusions are made in these records to the 'knocks'—that is, clocks—set up for the public convenience. An old one is repaired, and James Scott gets a sum 'for labour done by him in colouring of the knock, moon, and horologe, and other common work of the town.' References are made to several trades not known in our age by the same names, as a *lorimer*, the maker of the ironwork in horse-furniture; a *snap-maker*, by which is to be understood a maker of firelocks, then called *snap-hances;* a *ladleman;* a *tabroner*, meaning a drummer, &c. In 1577, the magistrates grant a pension of ten marks to Alexander Hay, chirurgeon, to encourage him to remain in Glasgow, 'in readiness for serving of the town by his craft and art.' This gentleman would bleed the citizens in exigencies of their health, and shave them daily.

In those days, the citizens of Glasgow kept each his cow, which was fed, under the care of a town's herdsman, in a common beyond the walls.

1574.

Apr. 11.—A strange tragedy took place at the cross of Edinburgh. Robert Drummond, sometimes called *Doctor Handie*, who had been a great seeker and apprehender of papists, had been punished for adultery by exposure in the church and banishment from the city. Out of favour on account of his services against popery, he was pardoned and brought back; but being again found guilty of the same offence, he was condemned to exposure in the stocks at the cross, along with the companion of his crime; after which he was to be burnt in the cheek. While undergoing this punishment, 'there being great science (?) of people about them, and the Doctor Handie being in ane great furie, said: "What wonder ye? I sall give you more occasion to wonder." So, suddenly, he took his awn

knife, wha strake himself three or four times fornent the heart, with the whilk he departit. This done, the magistrates causit harl him in ane cart through the town, and the bloody knife borne behind in his hand; and on the morn harlit in the same manner to the gallows on the Burgh-muir, where he was buried.' —*D. O.*

July 29.—The press was not likely to be a friend to the Regent, and the Regent, therefore, was not a friend to the press. At this date he induced the Privy Council to issue an edict that 'nane tak upon hand to emprent or sell whatsoever book, ballet, or other werk,' without its being examined and licensed, under pain of death and confiscation of goods.—*P. C. R.*

Sep. 3.—The town-council of Edinburgh agreed with a Frenchman that he should set up a school in the city to teach his own language, for which he should be entitled to charge each child twenty-five shillings yearly, besides enjoying a salary of twenty pounds during the council's pleasure.—*City Register, apud Maitland.*

'The summer right evil weather, and dear; the boll of malt five merk and half merk, and the boll of meal four merk and three merk. Evil August; wind and rain. The harvest evil weather that ever was seen; continual weet.'—*C. F.* Consequently, in autumn and winter, 'there was ane great dearth in Scotland of all kinds of victuals.'—*D. O.*

Oct. 14.—'The pest came to Leith by ane passenger wha came out of England, and sundry died thereof before it was known.' On the 24th, it entered Edinburgh, 'brought in by ane dochter of Malvis Curll out of Kirkcaldy.' The Court of Session abstained from sitting in consequence. 'My Lord Regent's grace skalit his house and men of weir, and was but six in household; I know not whether for fear of the pest or for sparing of expenses.'—*D. O.*

In December, the kirk-session of Edinburgh, 'foreseeing the great apparent plague and scourge of pest, hinging universally upon the haill realm,' and considering that 'the only ordinary means appointed by God in his holy word, whereby the said apparent scourge may be removed, is ane public fast and humiliation,' did accordingly appoint such a fast, to last for eight days, with sermon and prayers every day, and the people's 'food to be breid and drink with all kind of sobriety.'

We do not hear of the pest proving very deadly in Scotland on this occasion.

In this year died David Home of Wedderburn, a gentleman of good account in Berwickshire, and father of the David Home of Godscroft, to whom Scottish literature owes the *History of the House of Douglas*. The son has left us a portraiture of the father, which, even when we make a good allowance for filial partiality, must be held as showing that society was not then without estimable members. 'He died in the fiftieth year of his age, of a consumption, being the first (as is said) of his family who had died a natural death—all the rest having lost their lives in defence of their country.'

David is, moreover, described as being swift of foot and fond of foot-races. Horse-racing was also one of his amusements. 'He collected a number of the swiftest horses both from the north of Scotland and from England, by the assistance of one Graeme, recommended to him by his brother-in-law, Lochinvar. He generally had eight or more of that kind, so that the prize was seldom won by any but those of his family. . . . He was so great a master of the art of riding, that he would often be beat to-day, and within eight days lay a double wager on the same horses, and come off conqueror. . . . He went frequently from home to his diversion, sometimes to Haddington, and sometimes to Peebles, the one of which is eighteen, and the other twenty-four miles distant, and sometimes stayed there for several days with numerous attendants, regardless of expense, as being too mean and sordid a care, and below the dignity of one of his rank.'

1574-5.

Feb.—'In the meantime, there was ane great dearth in Scotland of all kind of victuals.'—*D. O.*

Mar. 8.—Though copies of the English Bible had found their way into Scotland, and been of great service in promoting and establishing the reformed doctrines, there was as yet no abundance of copies, nor had any edition been printed within the kingdom. There was, however, a burgess of Edinburgh named Thomas Bassendyne, who for some years had had a small printing-office there. He was probably too poor a man to undertake the printing of a thick quarto, the form in which the Bible was then usually presented; but he took into association with himself a man of better connection and means, named Alexander Arbuthnot, also an Edinburgh burgess; and now it was deemed possible that an edition of the Scriptures might be brought out within the realm of Scotland. The government, under the Regent Morton, gave a favourable ear to the project, and it was further encouraged by the bishops, superintendents, and other leading men of the kirk.

On the day noted, the Privy Council, seeing that 'the charge and hazard of the wark will be great and sumptuous,' decreed that each parish in the kingdom should advance £5 as a contribution, to be collected under the care of the said officers of the church, £4, 13*s.* 4*d.* of this sum being considered as the price of a copy of the impression, to be afterwards delivered, 'weel and sufficiently bund in paste or timmer,' and the remaining 6*s.* 8*d.* as the expense of collecting the money. The money was to be handed to Alexander Arbuthnot before the 1st of July next.

Arbuthnot and Bassendyne, on their parts, bound themselves to execute the work under certain penalties, and respectable men came forward as their sureties. Those who stood for Arbuthnot were David Guthrie of Kincaldrum, William Guthrie of Halkerton, William Rynd of Carse, and James Arnot of Lentusche—all Forfarshire gentlemen, be it remarked—a fact arguing that Arbuthnot himself was of the same district. The

exact arrangements of Arbuthnot and Bassendyne between themselves do not at this time appear; but we find that Bassendyne engaged in Flanders one 'Salomon Kerknett of Magdeburg' to come and act as 'composer' at 49*s.* of weekly wages, and sought the aid of Mr George Young, servant of the abbot of Dunfermline, as corrector of the press. Having 'guid characters and prenting irons,' it was to be expected that the work, great and sumptuous as it was, would go quickly and pleasantly on. This hope, however, was not to be realised. (See page 69.)—*P. C. R.*

Mar.—Among the evils of these times, was one which the present generation knows nothing of but from history. Owing to the constant exporting of good coin, and the importing of bad, the circulating medium of the country was in a wretched state. There seems to have been a regular system for coining base placks and lions (otherwise called *hardheads*) in the Low Countries, to be introduced by merchants into Scotland. The Regent, in a proclamation, described the abundance of debased money as the chief cause of the present dearth, the possessors of grain being thus induced to withhold it from market. For this reason, according to his own account, proceeding upon an act of the convention now sitting, he ordained the old coin to be brought to the cunyie-house, where it would be 'clippit, and put in ane close lockit coffer upon the count and inventar of the quantity receivit frae every person;' and meanwhile the lately issued genuine placks and lions were to have currency at twopence and a penny apiece respectively—that is, at denominations above their value. Any one hereafter possessing the false coin, was to be punished as an out-putter of false money.

The Regent, while thus an oppressor of his people by attempting to enhance the value of the coin, was engaged in several sumptuous undertakings. He was restoring the castle of Edinburgh at a vast expense, and also erecting a new mint—putting over its door, by the way, a prayer 'Be mercyfull to me, O God.' His own personal extravagances were not less

remarkable. He erected at Dalkeith a magnificent palace, richly adorned with tapestries and pictures, and fitter for a king than a subject. Here he lived in an appropriate style. All this he did at the expense of his enemies. He kept a fool named Patrick Bonny, who, seeing him one day pestered by a concourse of beggars, advised him to have them all burnt in one fire. 'What an impious idea!' said the Regent. 'Not at all,' replied the jester; 'if the whole of these poor people were consumed, you would soon make more poor people out of the rich.'—*Jo. R. B. Hist.*

1575.

Aug.—The General Assembly declared its mind regarding the dress fit for clergymen and their wives. 'We think all kind of broidering unseemly; all begares[1] of velvet, in gown, hose, or coat, and all superfluous and vain cutting out, steeking with silks, all kind of costly sewing on passments[2] . . . . all kind of costly sewing or variant hues in sarks; all kind of light and variant hues in clothing, as red, blue, yellow, and such like, which declare the lightness of the mind; all wearing of rings, bracelets, buttons of silver, gold, or other metal; all kind of superfluity of cloth in making of hose; all using of plaids in the kirk by readers or ministers, namely, in the time of their ministry or using of their office; all kind of gowning, cutting, doubletting, or breeks of velvet, satin, taffeta, or such like; all silk hats, and hats of divers and light colours.' It was recommended to the clergy, that 'their whole habit be of grave colour, as black, russet, sad gray, or sad brown; or serges, worset, chamlet, grogram, lytes worset, or such like. . . . And their wives to be subject to the same order.'

It is rather curious that any such sumptuary regulations should have been required for the Presbyterian ministers, or even their helpmates, as, according to all accounts, their incomes for the first forty years after the Reformation were wretchedly narrow and irregular. The thirds of the old benefices assigned to them by Queen Mary's act were far from being well paid. In the pathetic words of a memorial

[1] Coloured stripes sewed on a garment. [2] Fringes or trimmings.

they presented to Mary in 1562, 'most of them led a beggar's life.' They were as ill off under the grasping Morton as at any other time. The proceedings of the General Assembly of 1576 reveal that some were compelled to eke out their miserable stipends by selling ale to their flocks. The question was then formally put: 'Whether a minister or reader may tap ale, beer, or wine, and keep an open tavern?' to which it was answered: 'Ane minister or reader that taps ale or beer or wine, and keeps ane open tavern, sould be exhorted by the commissioners to keep decorum.'—*B. U. K.*

1576.

' *May* 1.—'The first day of May, 1576 years, was sae evil, the wind and weet at the west-north-west, with great showers of snaw and sleet, that the like was nocht seen by them that was living, in mony years afore, sae evil.'—*Chr. Aber.*

May.—The Earl of Huntly died in a sudden and mysterious manner at Strathbogie Castle. Having fallen down in a fit while playing at football, he was carried to bed, where he foamed at the mouth and nostrils, struggled with his hands, and stared wildly, as if he would have spoken, but could never command but one word—'Look, look, look.' He also vomited a good deal of blood. After four hours' illness, he expired.

'Upon that Tyesday after the deid [death], ane surgeoner of Aberdeen, callit William Urquhart, came to Strathbogie and bowelled the dead corpse, which, after the bowelling, was ta'en out of the chalmer and had into the chapel, where it remaineth to the burial. John Hamilton receivit the key of the chalmer door again when the dead corpse was ta'en out. On Wednesday next, after the deid, Patrick Gordon, the earl's brother, was sitting on ane form next to that chalmer door where that the dead corpse was bowelled; he hears ane great noise and din in that chalmer, whether it was of speech, of graning, or rumbling, I cannot tell. There was sixteen or twenty men in the hall with him; he gars call for John Hamilton, and asks gif there was onybody in that chalmer; the other said: "Nay." He bade him hearken what he heard at the door, wha heard as he

did. Then the key was brought him. He commandit John Hamilton to gang in, wha refused; he skipped in himself; John Hamilton followed ane step or twa, and came with speed again to the door for fear. Patrick passed to the inner side of the chalmer, and heard the like noise as he did when he was thereout, but yet could see nothing, for it was even, at the wayganging of the daylight. He came back again very affrayedly, and out at the door, and show[ed] so mony as bidden in the hall what he had heard, wha assayit to pass to the chalmer, to know what was there; but nane enterit ower the threshold; all came back for fear. This pastime lasted them more nor ane hour. Candles were brought, the chalmer vissied [examined]; nothing there. As soon as they came to the door again, the noise was as great as of before, the candles burning there ben [within]; they said to me that knows it, there is not sae meikle a quick thing as a mouse may enter within that chalmer, the doors and windows [being] steekit, it is so close all about. Judge ye how ghaists and gyre-carlins come in among them. They were ane hour or twa at this bickering, while ane man of the place comes in among them, and said to Patrick: "Fye, for gif he was not tentie [careful], the bruit [report] wald pass through the country that the Earl of Huntly had risen again." Then Patrick called them that had heard it, and commandit that nae sic word should be spoken.'—*Ban.*

July 18.—The work of printing the Bible, undertaken by Arbuthnot and Bassendyne in March of the year preceding, had proved a heavier undertaking than they expected, and had met with 'impediments.' They now therefore came with their sureties before the Privy Council, and pleaded for nine months' further time to complete the work, obliging themselves, in case of failure, to return the money which had been contributed by the various parishes. This grace was extended to them.

On the 5th January 1576-7, the work of the Bible was still in hand, and we have then a complaint made to the Regent by 'Salomon Kerknett of Magdeburg, composer of wark of the Bible,' to the effect that Thomas Bassendyne had refused since

the 23d of December bypast, to pay him the weekly wages of 49*s.*, agreed upon between them when he was engaged in Flanders. The Regent, finding the complaint just, ordered Bassendyne to pay Kerknett his arrears, and continue paying him at the same rate till the work should be finished.

Six days later, a more serious complaint was made against Bassendyne—namely, by Alexander Arbuthnot, that he would not deliver to Alexander, as he had contracted to do, the printing-house and the Bible, so far as printed, 'wherethrough the wark lies idle, to the great hurt of the commonweal of the realm.' The Regent, having heard parties, and being ripely advised by the Lords of the Council, ordered that Bassendyne should deliver the printing-house and Bible to Alexander Arbuthnot before the end of the month.—*P. C. R.*

Such were the difficulties which stood in the way of the first edition of the Bible printed in Scotland.

'The whilk summer was right guid weather; but there was weir betwixt my Lord of Argyle and my Lord Athole, and great spoliation made by the men of Lochaber on puir men. God see till that.'

'All June, July, and August right evil weather. . . . . Nae aits shorn in Fortingall the 23 day of September. . . . . All October evil weather; mickle corn unshorn and unled.'—*C. F.*

Nov. 8.—The trial of Elizabeth or Bessie Dunlop of Lyne, in Ayrshire, for the alleged crime of witchcraft. Bessie was a married woman, apparently in middle life, and her only offence was giving information, as from a supernatural source, regarding articles which had been stolen, and for the cure of diseases. 'She herself had nae kind of art nor science sae to do;' she obtained her information, when she required it, from 'ane Tom Reid, wha died at Pinkie,' that is, at the battle fought there twenty-nine years before. Her intercourse with a deceased person seems to have given herself little surprise, and she spoke of it with much coolness.

Being asked, 'what kind of man this Tom Reid was, [she]

declairit, he was ane honest, weel, elderly man, gray-beardit, and had ane gray coat with Lombard sleeves of the auld fashion; ane pair of gray breeks and white shanks [stockings], gartenit aboon the knee; ane black bonnet on his head, close behind and plain before; with silken laces drawn through the lips thereof; and ane white wand in his hand. Being interrogat how and in what manner of place the said Tom Reid came to her, [she] answerit, as she was ganging betwixt her awn house and the yard of Monkcastle, driving her kye to the pasture, and making heavy sair dule with herself, greeting very fast for her cow that was dead, her husband and child that were lying sick in the land-ill, and she new risen out of gissan [childbed], the said Tom met her by the way, halsit her [took her round the neck, saluting her], and said: "Gude day, Bessie;" and she said: "God speed you, gudeman." "Sancta Maria," said he, "Bessie, why makes thou sae great dule and sair greeting for ony warldly thing?" She answerit: "Alas, have I not cause to make great dule? for our gear is traikit [dwindled away], and my husband is on the point of deid, and ane baby of my awn will not live, and myself at ane weak point; have I not gude cause, then, to have ane sair heart?" But Tom said: "Bessie, thou hast crabbit [irritated] God, and askit something you should not have done; and therefore I counsel thee to mend to him, for I tell thee thy bairn shall die, and the sick cow, ere you come hame; thy twa sheep shall die too; but thy husband shall mend, and be as haill and feir as ever he was." And then was I something blyther, frae he tauld me that my gudeman wald mend. Then Tom Reid went away from me in through the yard of Monkcastle; and I thought he gaed in at ane narrower hole of the dyke nor ony eardly man could have gane through; and sae I was something fleyit [frightened].'

Bessie from time to time consulted her ghostly friend about cases of sickness for which her skill was required. 'Tom gave out of his awn hand ane thing like the root of ane beet, and bade her either seethe or make ane saw [salve] of it, or else dry it, and make powder of it, and give it to sick persons, and they should mend. . . . . She mendit John Jack's bairn,

and Wilson's of the town, and her gudeman's sister's cow. . . . . Interrogate, gif she could tell of ony thing that was away, or ony thing that was to come, [she] answerit, that she could do naething of herself, but as Tom tauld her . . . . mony folks in the country [came to her] to get wit of gear stolen frae them. . . . . The Lady Thirdpart in the barony of Renfrew sent to her and speerit at her, wha was it that had stolen frae her twa horns of gold, and ane crown of the sun, out of her purse? And after she had spoken with Tom, within twenty days, she sent her word wha had them; and she gat them again.'

Bessie states that Tom asked her to go with him to Elfame, that is, Fairyland. He used to come chiefly to her at noon. She had seen him walking among the people in the kirkyard of Dalry; also once in the High Street of Edinburgh, on a market-day, where he laughed to her. Having once ridden with her husband to Leith to bring home meal—'ganging afield to tether her horse at Restalrig Loch, there came ane company of riders bye, that made sic ane din as heaven and eard had gane together; and incontinent they rade into the loch, with mony hideous rumble. Tom tauld it was the gude wights that were riding in middle-eard.'

Being found guilty of the sorcery and other evil arts laid to her charge, Bessie Dunlop was consigned to the flames.—*Pit.*

The modern student of insanity can have no difficulty with this case: it is simply one of hallucination, the consequence of diseased conditions.

1576–7.

Feb. 14.—The Regent, seeing the present abundance of corns in the country, and considering how in bypast times of dearth the people of Scotland had 'received large help and support of victuals out of the caster seas, France, Flanders, and England,' thought it proper that 'the like favour and guid neighbourheid, charity and amity, should be extendit towards the people of the said countries in this present year, when it has pleasit God to visie them with the like dearth and scarcity.' This was the more proper, in as far as 'the farmers sould be

greatly interested, gif they were constrainit to sell their corns at the low prices now current,' seeing that their expenses were now as great as when in other times they were getting double prices. For these and other good reasons (whereof probably not the least was a good douceur from a few corn-merchants, such as Robert Gourlay), the Regent was pleased to arrange for a short suspension of the act of parliament forbidding the export of corn out of the country, taking on himself the power of licensing that operation to a certain modified extent.—*P. C. R.*

1577.

'That April, right evil weather; and the May, mickle weet and rain; and June, right evil, weet and wind; and the *beir*-seed right late in all places, while after Sanct Colm's Day [9th June].'—*C. F.*

Nov. 13.—'This year, in the winter, appeared a terrible comet, the stern [star, forming the head] whereof was very great, and proceeding from it towards the east a long tail, in appearance of an ell and a half, like to a besom or scourge made of wands all fiery. It raise nightly in the south-west, not above a degree and a half ascending above the horizon, and continued about a sax weeks or twa month, and piece and piece wore away. The greatest *effects* whereof that out of our country we heard, was a great and mighty battle in Barbaria in Afric, wherein three kings were slain, with a huge multitude of people. And within the country the chasing away of the Hamiltons, &c.'—*Ja. Mel.*

The notices of comets given by our old historical writers and diarists have no scientific value. They are only worthy of notice as showing the views entertained regarding comets by the people of an early and unenlightened age.

The comet of 1577 was a very noted one, seen over Europe and Asia, also in Peru, and well observed by Tycho Brahé. Its tail, according to the description of the Danish astronomer, extended over 22 degrees. Such was the real space, described by James Melville as an ell and a half!

Dec. 18.—'The Lord Somerville had often importuned the Lords of Session for a hearing in the Inner House [of a cause respecting lands, in which he was engaged against his relation, Somerville of Cambusnethan], but was still postponed by the moyen [means] and interest of the Laird of Cambusnethan and the Lady. At length he was advised to use this policy, by one who knew the temper and avarice of Morton, then Regent. This gentleman's advice was, that the Lord Somerville should have his advocates in readiness, and his process in form, against the next day; timely in the morning, that he might not be prevented by other solicitors, he should wait upon the Regent in his own bed-chamber. And, whatever answer he should receive from the Regent, he desired my Lord Somerville not to be much concerned; but upon his taking leave, he should draw out his purse and make as though he intended to give the waiting-servants some money, and thereupon slip down his purse with the gold therein upon the table, and thereafter make quickly down-stairs, without taking notice of any cry that might come after him. The Lord Somerville punctually obeyed this gentleman's direction and advice in all points. Timely the next morning with his principal advocate he was with the Regent, and informed him fully of his affair. It being the custom for noblemen and gentlemen at that time always to keep their money in purses, this the Lord Somerville draws out, as it were to take out a piece of money to give to the doorkeeper, and leaves it negligently upon the table. He went quickly down-stairs, and took no notice of the Regent's still crying after him: "My lord, you have forgot your purse," but went on still, until he came the length of the outer porch, now the Duke of Hamilton's lodging, when a gentleman that attended the Regent came up, and told him that it was the Regent's earnest desire that his lordship would be pleased to return and breakfast with him; which accordingly the Lord Somerville did, knowing weel that his project had taken effect.

'About ten o'clock, the Regent went to the house, which was the same which is now the Tolbooth Church, in coach. There was none with him but the Lord Boyd and the Lord

Somerville. Cambusnethan, by accident, as the coach passed, was standing at Niddry's Wynd head, and having inquired who was in it with the Regent, he was answered: "None but the Lord Somerville and the Lord Boyd;" upon which he struck his breast, and said: "This day my cause is lost;" and indeed it proved so; for about eleven hours, the 18th day of December 1577, this action was called and debated until twelve most contentiously by the advocates upon both sides. . . . After the debate was closed, the interlocutor passed in my Lord Somerville's favours. . . . Thus ended that expensive plea betwixt the houses of Cowthally and Cambusnethan, after seven or eight years' debate, and these lands of Lothian [Drum, Gilmerton, and Goodtrees] returned again to the Lords Somerville, when they had been fourscore years complete in the possession of the family of Cambusnethan.'—*M. of S.*

Although this story was transcribed from family tradition a century after the alleged occurrence, there is too much reason in the monstrous avarice of Morton to believe it near the truth.

The crop of this year must have failed to a lamentable extent, as, immediately after harvest, we hear of 'exorbitant dearth of victual and penury thereof,' and the ensuing year was, according to a contemporary diarist, marked by 'ane great dearth of all kinds of victuals, through all Scotland, that the like was not seen in man's days afore.' According to the latter authority, 'the meal was sauld for sax shillings the peck, the ale for tenpence the pint, the wine for the best cheap forty pence the pint; fish and flesh was scant and dear.'—*Aber. Chron.*

In November 1577 two boat-loads of *beir* were about to sail from Aberdeen harbour for Leith, when the town-council arrested them, and ordained the victual to be sold to the inhabitants of Aberdeen at 'competent prices.'[1]

According to the usual policy in such cases, the government (April 14, 1578) issued a proclamation commanding the possessors of grain to thrash it out before the 10th of June,

[1] Aberdeen Council Register, *Spal. Cl. Mis.*, i. 30.

under pain of escheating, and that no person should keep more victual than was sufficient to serve him and his family a quarter of a year, the rest to be brought to the market within twenty days. It was also ordered, that no grain should be taken forth of the kingdom, but 'strangers bringing in victual should be favourably enterteened and thankfully paid.'—*Cal.* This proclamation, being entirely accordant with the prejudices of the masses, was 'mickle commendit.'—*Moy.*

1577–8.

Mar. 17.—There was an ancient feud between the families of Glammis and Crawford, but as the present lords were on the same side in politics, it was felt by both as inexpedient that any hostility should take place between them. Moreover, it would have been highly indecent of Lord Glammis, who was chancellor of the kingdom, to allow any demonstration of rancour to come from his side. Nevertheless, a fatal collision took place between these two nobles.

About the dusk of a spring day, Lord Glammis was coming down from Stirling Castle to his own house in the town, attended as usual by some of his friends and followers, when, in a narrow lane, he encountered the Earl of Crawford similarly attended. The two nobles bade their respective followers give way to the other; and the order was obeyed by all except the two last, who either wilfully or by accident jostled each other, and then immediately drew their swords and fell a-fighting. A skirmish then took place between the two parties, in the course of which Lord Glammis, whose stature made him overtop the company, was shot through the head with a pistol, and many were hurt on both sides.

The respective friends of Glammis and Crawford fell into active hostilities after this event, and Crawford was seized and thrown into prison. Being really free from blame, and befriended by many of the nobility, he was soon liberated, to the great joy of his own people. The general joy diffused by this event exasperated Thomas Lyon, a nephew of the deceased chancellor, insomuch that 'Crawford all his life was glad to stand in a soldier's posture.'—*Jo. Hist.*

1578.

Sep. 11.—An attempt was made by proclamation to raise the value of the coin, thirty-shilling pieces being ordained to pass for 32*s.* 8*d.*, and twenty, ten, and five shilling pieces in proportion, refusal of the coin at the exalted rates being threatened with capital punishment. 'This was altogether mislikit by the common people, and specially by the inhabitants of Edinburgh.' —*Moy.*

1578-9.

Feb. 21.—'The whilk day, the lords of secret council has thought meet and expedient that the king's majesty sould not write to the lords of his hienes' council and session in furtherance or hindrance of ony particular persons' actions and causes in time coming, but suffer them to proceed and do justice in all actions privilegit to be decidit by them, as they sall answer to God and his hienes thereupon.'—*P. C. R.*

James was now twelve and a half years old, but nominally in possession of the government. We see that his influence was already sought by individuals to affect the course of the chief civil tribunal of the country. It will appear a characteristic circumstance, and there are many others to corroborate its general purport; yet it is but right to remark, as the general impression produced by a perusal of the Privy Council Record, that the decisions given there on matters of right between individuals are, on the whole, marked by an appearance of fairness and impartiality. Oppression from high quarters is frequently denounced; and there are numberless instances of a humane and forbearing spirit towards poor and unfortunate people.

1579.

'The magistrates of [Glasgow], by the earnest dealing of Mr Andrew Melville and other ministers, had condescended to demolish the cathedral, and build with the materials thereof some little churches in other parts, for the ease of the citizens. Divers reasons were given for it—such as, the resort of superstitious people to do their devotion in that place; the huge vastness of the church, and that the voice of a preacher could

not be heard by the multitudes that convened to sermon; the more commodious service of the people; and the removing of that idolatrous monument (so they called it) which was of all the cathedrals in the country only left unruined, and in a possibility to be repaired. To do this work, a number of quarriers, masons, and other workmen was conducted, and the day assigned when it should take beginning. Intimation being made thereof, and the workmen by sound of a drum warned to go unto their work, the crafts of the city in a tumult took arms, swearing with many oaths, that he who did cast down the first stone should be buried under it. Neither could they be pacified till the workmen were discharged by the magistrates. A complaint was hereupon made, and the principals cited before the council for insurrection: where the king, not as then thirteen years of age, taking the protection of the crafts, did allow [sanction] the opposition they had made, and inhibited the ministers (for they were the complainers) to meddle any more in that business, saying, "That too many churches had already been destroyed, and that he would not tolerate more abuses in that kind."'—*Spot.*

Apr.—John Stewart, Earl of Athole, was one of the more respectable of the Scottish nobility of this age. To Queen Mary—whom he had entertained at a hunt in Glen Tilt in 1564—he proved a faithful friend, till her fatal marriage with Bothwell, when, although a Catholic, he joined those who crowned her son as king. During the regencies, he lived in dignified retirement, till called upon to make an effort to rescue the young king from the thraldom in which he was held by Morton. A temporary fall of Morton in 1577 left Athole chancellor of the kingdom.

He now came to Stirling, to assist in accommodating some quarrels of the friends of the Mar family regarding the custody of the young king and the government of Stirling Castle. 'Matters being seemingly adjusted, the old Countess of Mar, or the Earl of Morton, in her name, invited the chancellor to an entertainment. While they were drinking hard, somebody

conveyed a deadly poison into the chancellor's glass.' April 16th, 'the chancellor passed forth of Stirling to Kincardine,[1] very sick and ill at ease, and upon the 24th day deceased there.' His friends, thinking he had got foul play, sent to Edinburgh for surgeons to open the body; and though these men of skill declared upon oath that they found no trace of poison or mark of violence done to the deceased, the widow and eldest son entered a protest that this should not prejudge the criminal process which they intended before the Justice-general. 'Some blamed the old Countess of Mar for it; others suspected the Earl of Morton at the bottom of it.' Both suspicions were probably groundless; it may even be doubted if the earl was poisoned at all. When under sentence of death some years after, Morton solemnly denied the crime imputed to him, and said in no circumstances would he have injured a hair of Athole's head.

'Upon the seventh of July, the corpse of the Earl of Athole being convoyit to Dunblane, was carried forth thereof the direct way to Dunfermline, where they remained that night. Upon the morn, they passed forth to Edinburgh, where a great number of friends were convenit to the burial. Upon the tenth day, [the body of the earl] was honourably convoyit with his friends from Haliroodhouse to St Giles' Kirk, where he was buried on the east side of the altar on the south side of the church.'

Owing to the general belief as to the mode of the earl's death, his funeral brought forth strong marks of public feeling.[2] It appears that, before it took place, there was a rumour that the relatives of the deceased designed that it should be attended with sundry superstitious rites, as 'a white cross in the *mortclaith*, lang gowns with stroups, and torches.' A deputation from the General Assembly came to inquire, and were asked to satisfy themselves by inspecting the preparations. 'The kirk thought the cross and the stroups superstitious and ethnic-like, and desirit them to remove the same.' It was

[1] The seat of the Earl of Montrose, on the skirts of the Ochil Hills.
[2] Crawford's *Officers of State.* Moysie's *Memoirs.*

accordingly arranged to cover the cross with black velvet and to remove the stroups.—*B. U. K.*

Aug. 12.—'Twa poets of Edinburgh, remarking some of his [the Earl of Morton's] sinistrous dealing, did publish the same to the people by a famous libel written against him; and Morton, hearing of this, causit the men to be brought to Stirling, where they were convict for slandering ane of the king's councillors, and were there baith hangit. The names of the men were William Turnbull, schoolmaster in Edinburgh, and William Scott, notar. They were baith weel beloved of the common people for their common offices.'—*H. K. J.* 'Which was thought a precedent, never one being hanged for the like before; and in the meantime, at the scattering of the people, there were ten or twelve despiteful letters and infamous libels in prose, found, as if they had been lost among the people, tending to the reproach of the Earl of Morton and his predecessors.'—*Moy. R.*

At the fall of Morton, less than two years after, when he was taken prisoner and conducted to Edinburgh Castle—'as he passed the Butter Tron, a woman who had her husband put to death at Stirling for a ballad entitled *Daff and dow nothing* [as much as to say, "Sport, and be at your ease"], sitting down on her bare knees, poured out many imprecations upon him.' —*Cal.*

Aug. 17.—During the night following this day, 'there blew sic ane tempest at the herring drave of Dunbar, that three-score fisher-boats and three hundred men perished.'—*Moy.*

Reign of James the Sixth.

1578–1585.

VERY soon after Morton had demitted the regency, he partly recovered his power, and this he continued for some time to exercise. The young king remained in Stirling Castle, under considerable restraint. With a view to acquire some control over him, as the only means of resisting the English or Protestant interest, his mother and French grand-uncles sent to his court a young gentleman of engaging manners, in whom they had confidence. This was Esme Stuart, usually called Monsieur d'Aubigné, a member of the Lennox family, being nephew of the late Regent, but who had been brought up in France. It was believed that he carried with him forty thousand pieces of gold, to be employed in winning favour with the Scottish nobility. About the same time, another but more distant relative, James Stuart, of the Ochiltree family, a captain in the royal guard—afterwards created Earl of Arran—began to acquire favour with the king. This was altogether a less worthy person than D'Aubigné, being arrogant, domineering, and vicious. D'Aubigné, however, being a Catholic, and suspected of designs in favour of popery, was perhaps the least liked of the two.

It was in September 1579, when little more than thirteen years of age, that James was for the first time so far liberated from the control of Morton and other councillors, as to be able to leave his castle of Stirling. Accompanied by D'Aubigné, then newly arrived, he made a formal visit to Edinburgh, where the citizens gave him a most affectionate reception.

This was a more important crisis of British history than is generally supposed. It was now that a commencement was made of that struggle for authority which we see going on through the remainder of this and the whole of the ensuing century. James

had been reared as the creature of the zealous Presbyterian party. When he began to judge for himself, and to become conversant with minds beyond the range of his earlier associations, his affections led him to prefer those who had been his mother's friends, and he soon came to believe that they and such as they were likely to be his own warmest supporters. What was most important of all, he found that the Presbyterian clergy, while professing respect for him as the chief magistrate of the land, and disposed to obey him in civil matters, claimed to be, in things ecclesiastical, not merely independent of him, but his superiors. In their view, as far as his own religious and moral practice was concerned, King James was only a parishioner of the Canongate. The pretension only set him upon looking up scriptural texts too, texts which could be interpreted as setting the royal authority equally above human challenge; and such were not difficult to be found. Hence arose the celebrated doctrine of the divine right of kings—a sort of antithesis to a doctrine which would have made kings in one important respect the subjects of a set of church-courts. And so commenced that unfortunate course of things in our national history, which has presented this king as in constant antagonism to the ecclesiastical forms and order of worship preferred by the great bulk of his people, as seeking by all arts to thrust hated systems upon them, and as founding a policy which, becoming a deadly and obstinate struggle with his descendants, alternately gave us anarchy and despotism, till it ended in the total overthrow of the main line of the House of Stuart.

Notwithstanding a strenuous opposition from Elizabeth and the Presbyterian clergy, D'Aubigné, whom James made Earl, and finally Duke of Lennox, succeeded in greatly advancing the French interest. It was in vain that the ministers railed at him as a papist: he coolly came before them and abjured popery. A Confession of Faith, condemning the pope and all his pretensions and works, was brought forward: James and his councillors, including the Earl of Lennox, unhesitatingly signed it (January 28, 1580–1). Morton, who alone possessed the personal character that could effectually stand for the English interest and the kirk, had, by his cruel and avaricious conduct, lost the support of all classes, the clergy included. It was even found possible to effect the ruin of this great man. On the last of December 1580, the adventurer Stuart came into the council-chamber, and, falling on his knees, accused the ex-Regent of being concerned in the murder of his majesty's father. To the

general surprise, he fell without a struggle, and after a few months' confinement, he perished on the scaffold (June 2, 1581).

At length there was a reaction against the dominion of the two court favourites, Lennox and Stuart. A combination of nobles of the ultra-Protestant party—the Earl of Gowrie, the Earl of Mar, Lord Glammis, and others, laid a gentle compulsion on the young king while he was staying at Ruthven House near Perth (August 1582), and his councillors Lennox and Arran were debarred from his presence. After this event, known in our history as the *Raid of Ruthven*, the king remained under the control of his new councillors for a year, during which a pure Presbyterianism was again encouraged, and the English alliance was cultivated. The Duke of Lennox was forced to withdraw to France, where, to the great grief of the king, he soon after contracted a sickness, and died.

Regaining his liberty by stratagem, James once more put himself under the guidance of the profligate but energetic Arran. A modified episcopate was established in the church, under a subordination to the state, and a restraint was imposed on the tongues of the clergy in the pulpit. The Earl of Gowrie was brought to the block. Several ministers, including Melville, had to take refuge in England. But the general tendency of things in Scotland was inconsistent with the rule of a man possessing the genius of Arran. Elizabeth, too, deemed it best for her interests that others should have the control of Scottish affairs. Accordingly, a new and more formidable combination of nobles was formed. Joined by Lord John Hamilton, the head of the long proscribed House of Hamilton, and by Lord Maxwell, whom Arran had offended, they advanced with an army of 5000 men to Stirling, then the seat of the court. Arran, unable to resist, fled, and was allowed to fall into obscurity. The king with great placidity put himself into the hands of his new councillors (November 1585). This *coup d'état* was followed by the restoration of the Hamilton family to its titles and estates.

1579.

The young king having now assumed the government, and being about to make his first visit to Edinburgh, the magistrates and citizens were anxious to give him an honourable reception. There was immediately a great bustle regarding the preparation of a silver cupboard and other pieces of plate to be presented

to him, as well as the getting of dresses suitable to be worn by the chief men at the royal entry. There was even a deputation to the High School, 'to vesie the maister of the Hie Schule tragedies to be made by the bairns, and to report;' besides another 'to speak the Frenchman for his opinion in device of the triumph.'

All merchants stented to above ten pounds were enjoined to have 'everilk ane of them ane goune of fine black camlet of silk of serge, barrit with velvet, effeiring his substance.' All stented to sixteen pounds, 'to have their gounes of the like stuff, the breists thereof linit with velvet, and begairit with coits of velvet, damas, or sattin.' The thirteen city-officers were to have each a livery composed of three ells of English *stemming* to be hose, six quarters of Rouen canvas to be doublets, with 13*s.* 4*d.* for passments, and a black hat with a white string.

Another preparative was an edict, that all manner of persons having *cruives* for swine under their stairs or in common vennels, 'and sic like as has middings and fulyie collectit, or has tar barrels on the Hie Street, as also ony redd[1] stanes or timber on the said Hie Street or common vennels, remove the same.' Pioneers, too, 'to shool in the muck outwith the West Port.' The inhabitants to hang their stairs with tapestry and arras wark. The Privy Council, on their part, proclaimed penalties against all who should come with firearms, or any other armour than their swords and whingers.

Sep. 30.—The boy-king came from Stirling attended by about two thousand men on horseback, and received an enthusiastic reception from the citizens of Edinburgh.

Oct. 20.—The Estates passed an act against 'strang and idle beggars,' and 'sic as make themselves fules and are bards;' likewise against 'the idle people calling themselves Egyptians, or any other that feigns them to have knowledge of charming, prophecy, or other abused sciences, whereby they persuade the people that they can tell their weirds, deaths, and fortunes,

[1] Arranged—not lying as rubbish.

and sic other fantastical imaginations.' The act condemns all sorts of vagrant idle people, including 'minstrels, sangsters, and tale-tellers, not avowed in special service by some of the lords of parliament or great burghs,' and 'vagabond scholars of the universities of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen.'

By this time, Arbuthnot's edition of the Bible was completed and in circulation. The gratification of the clergy on seeing such a product of the native press, found eloquent expression in an address of the General Assembly to the king (June 1579), when they took occasion to praise the printer as 'a man who hath taken great pains and travel worthy to be remembered;' and told how there should henceforth be a copy in every parish kirk, to be called the Common Book of the Kirk, 'as the most meet ornament for such a place.'—*B. U. K.*

Nov. 10.—In that unmistrusting reliance on force for religious objects which marked the age, it was enacted in parliament, that each householder worth three hundred merks of yearly rent, and all substantious yeomen and burgesses esteemed as worth five hundred pounds in land and goods, should have a Bible and psalm-book in the vulgar tongue, under the penalty of ten pounds. A few months later (June 16, 1580), one John Williamson was commissioned under the privy seal to visit and search every house in the realm, 'and to require the sicht of their Bible and psalm-buke, gif they ony have, to be marked with their awn name, for eschewing of fraudful dealing in that behalf.'—*Maitland Club Miscellany.*

The zeal of the clergy, their self-denying poverty, their resoluteness in advancing their views of church polity against court influence, have all been touched upon. Little more than six hundred in number—for hundreds of the parishes had no minister—they were indefatigable in their efforts to moralise the rude mass of the community; although it was, by their own account, such as might have appeared hopeless to other men; there being now, as they said, a 'universal corruption in the whole realm,' 'great coldness and slackness' even in the pro-

fessors of religion, and a 'daily increase of all kinds of fearful sins and enormities, with all manner of disorders and ungodly living.'

1580.

June 25.—' . . . . being Saturday, betwixt three o'clock afternoon and Sunday's night thereafter, there blew such a vehement tempest of wind, that it was thought to be the cause that a great many of the inhabitants of Edinburgh contracted a strange sickness, which was called *Kindness*. It fell out in the court, as well as sundry parts of the country, so that some people who were corpulent and aged deceased very suddenly. It continued with every one that took it three days at least.' —*Moy. R.*

July.—The king being at St Andrews on a progress with the Regent Morton, the gentlemen of the country had a *guise* or *fence* to play before him. 'The play was to be acted in the New Abbey.[1] While the people is gazing and longing for the play, Skipper Lindsay, a phrenetic man, stepped into the place which was kept void till the players came, and paceth up and down in sight of the people with great gravity, his hands on his side, and looking loftily. He had a manly countenance, but was all rough with hair. He had great tufts of hair upon his brows, and also a great tuft upon the neb of his nose. At the first sight, the people laughed loud; but when he began to speak he procured attention, as if it had been to a preacher. He discoursed with great force of spirit, and mighty voice, exhorting men of all ranks and degrees to hear him, and take example by him. He declared how wicked and riotous he had been, what he had done and conquest [acquired] by sea, how he had spended and abased himself on land, and what God had justly brought upon him for the same. He had wit, he had riches, he had strength and ability of body, he had fame and estimation above all others of his trade and rank; but all was vanity that made him misken

[1] A house called the *Novum Hospitium*, in the Priory Park. It has long been demolished, excepting only the court-gate.

his God. But God would not be miskenned by the highest. Turning himself to the boss [empty] window, where the king and Aubigné was above, and Morton standing beneath, gnapping upon his staff, he applied to him in special, as was marvellous in the ears of the hearers; so that many were astonished and some moved to tears, beholding and hearkening to the man. Among other things, he warned the earl, not obscurely, that his judgment was drawing near and his doom in dressing. And in very deed at the same time was his death contrived. The contrivers would have expected a discovery, if they had not known the man to be phrenetic and bereft of his wit. The earl was so moved and touched at the heart, that, during the time of the play, he never changed the gravity of his countenance for all the sports of the play.'—*Cal.*

Oct.—Lord Ruthven and Lord Oliphant were at feud, in consequence of a dispute about teinds. The former, on his return from Kincardine, where he had been attending the Earl of Mar's marriage, passed near Lord Oliphant's seat of Dupplin, near Perth. This was construed by Oliphant into a bravado on the part of Ruthven. His son, the Master of Oliphant, accordingly came forth with a train of armed followers, and rode hastily after Lord Ruthven. The foremost of Ruthven's party, taking a panic, fled in disorder, notwithstanding their master's call to them to stay. He was then obliged to fly also; but his kinsman, Alexander Stewart, of the House of Traquair, stayed to try to pacify the Oliphant party. He was shot with a harquebus by one who did not know whom he was, to the great grief of the Master.

Lord Ruthven prosecuted the Master for this outrage. The Earl of Morton, out of regard to Douglas of Lochleven, whose son-in-law Oliphant was, gave his influence on that side, and thus incurred some odium, which probably helped to bring about his destruction soon after.—*Cal.*

Oct. 20.—In a General Assembly held at Edinburgh, an order was issued to execute the acts of the kirk upon *apostates;*

'perticularly that the Laird of Dun execute this act upon the Master of Gray, an apostate now returned to Scotland. It being reported to the king that the Master of Gray his house did shake and rock in the night as with an earthquake, and the king [then fourteen years old] interrogating David Fergusson [minister of Dunfermline], "What he thought it could mean that that house alone should shake and totter?" he answered: "Sir, why should not the devil rock his awn bairns?"'—*Row's History.*

An earthquake noted in Howes's *Chronicle* as having been experienced in Kent at midnight of the first of May this year, was probably the cause of the rocking felt at the Master of Gray's house. In Kent it made 'the people to rise out of their beds and run to the churches, where they called upon God by earnest prayers to be merciful to them.'

George Auchinleck of Balmanno had been one of the confidants of the Regent in the days of his power. It being well known that he had influence in bringing about the decision of lawsuits, the highest nobility were glad at that time to pay court to him. As an illustration of the nature of his position—Coming one day from the Regent's house at Dalkeith to Edinburgh, and walking up the High Street, he met one Captain Nesbit, with whom he had some slight quarrel, and drawing his sword, instantly thrust him through the body, so that he was left for dead. So far from seeking concealment after this violence, Auchinleck held straight on to the Tolbooth, where the Court of Session sat, as though he had done no wrong; after which he coolly made his way back to the Regent's court at Dalkeith. It does not appear that he was in any way punished for stabbing Nesbit.

On another occasion, as Auchinleck stood within the bar of the Tolbooth, an old man of unprosperous appearance made his way through the crowd, asking permission to speak with him. When Auchinleck turned to ask what he wanted, the old man said: 'I am Oliver Sinclair!' and without another word, turned and went away. It was the quondam favourite of

James V., now a poor and dejected gentleman, albeit connected by near ties with some of the greatest men in the country. Men talked much of this proceeding of Sinclair: it seemed to them equivalent to his saying: 'Be not too proud of your interest at court. I was once as you are; you may fall to be as I am.'—*H. of G.*

The prediction was now verified, for, Morton being out of power and in danger of his life, Auchinleck no longer had influence at council or in court. He, moreover, stood in no small personal danger from his many enemies. As he was walking on the High Street of Edinburgh (Dec. 12), he was beset at a passage near St Giles's Church by William Bickerton of Casch and four other gentlemen, who assailed him with bended pistols, by one of which he was shot through the body, after which he was left for dead. This was thought to be done in revenge for an attack by him upon Archibald, the brother of William Bickerton. The assailants were all found guilty of the slaughterous attempt, but without the aggravation of its being done within three-quarters of a mile of the king's person, seeing that 'the king's majesty was furth at the hunting, the time of the committing thereof.'—*Pit.*

Auchinleck survived this accident, and we find him in the ensuing March in the hands of the Earl of Arran, and put to the torture, in order to extort from him a confession of certain crimes with which he was charged, but which he denied. He took a part in the affair of the Raid of Ruthven in August 1582. When the Earl of Arran on that occasion, hearing of the king's being secluded in Ruthven House, came to try if he could gain access to him, 'the Earl of Gowrie met him at the gate, and had straightway killed him, if George Auchinleck had not held his hand as he was about to have pulled out his dagger to have stabbed him.'—*H. of G.*

1580–1.

Jan. 28.—A Confession of Faith was this day subscribed by the king, his household and courtiers, including Lennox, and many of the nobility and other persons, professing 'the religion now revealed to the world by the preaching of the blessed

evangel,' and solemnly abjuring all the doctrines and practices of the Romish Church.[1]

Jan. 29.—This day, Sunday, there were gay doings in the boy-king's court of Holyrood, namely, running at the ring, jousting, and such-like pastimes, besides sailing about in boats and galleys at Leith.—*Cal.*

1581.

Mar. 11.—The ex-Regent now lay a hopeless prisoner in Dumbarton Castle, chiefly occupied, we are told, in reading the Bible, which, though he had forced the people to buy it under a penalty, he had hitherto much neglected himself. One of his servants, named George Fleck, 'was apprehended in Alexander Lawson's house [in Edinburgh], together with the said Alexander, not without their own consents, as was alleged, to reveal where the Earl of Morton's treasure lay. The bruit [rumour] went—when the boots were presented to George Fleck, that he revealed a part of the treasure to be lying in Dalkeith yard, under the ground; a part in Aberdour, under a braid stone before the gate; a part in Leith. Certain it is he [the earl] was the wealthiest subject that had been in Scotland for many years.'—*Cal.*

In May, Morton 'was brought to Edinburgh, and kept in Robin Gourlay's house, with a band of men of weir.' James Melville says: 'The very day of his putting to assize, I happened to be in Edinburgh, and heard and saw the notablest example, baith of God's judgment and mercy that, to my knowledge, ever fell out in my time. For in that Tolbooth, where oftentimes, during his government, he had wrested and thrawn judgment, partly for gain, whereto he was given, and partly for particular favour, was his judgment overthrown; and he wha, above any Scotsman, had maist gear, friendship, and cliental,[2] had nane to speak a word for him that day; but, the greatest part of the assizers being his knawn unfriends, he was condemned to be headit on a scaffold, and that head, whilk was

[1] The original of this document, commonly called the *King's Confession*, is preserved in the Advocates' Library.

[2] Fr. *clientèle*, dependents.

sae witty in warldly affairs and policy, and had commanded with sic authority and dignity within that town and judgment-seat, to be set upon a prick upon the hichest stane of the gable of the Tolbooth that is towards the public street.'

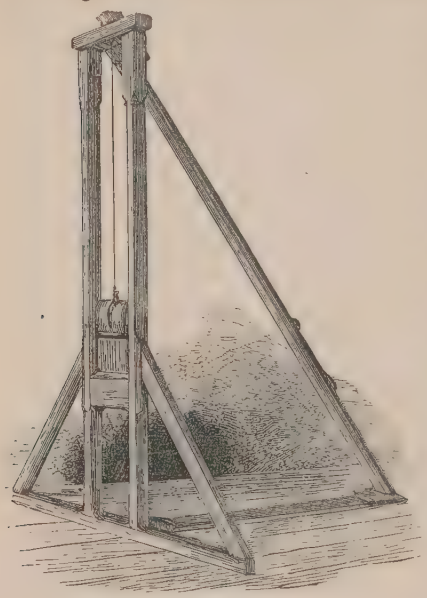
Morton was condemned for being 'airt and part'[1] concerned in the murder of Darnley. He was more clearly an actor in the cruel slaughter of Riccio. After doing his best to insnare Mary into a marriage with Bothwell, he had headed a rebellion against her on hypocritical pretences. The extortions he had practised during his regency, in order to enrich himself, showed an equally sordid and cruel character. Throughout all the time of his government, he had outraged decency by the grossness of his private life. Yet 'he had great comfort that he died a Christian, in the true and sincere profession of religion, whilk he cravit all the faithful to follow, and abide thereat to the death.'—*Moy*. 'He keepit the same countenance, gesture, and short sententious form of language upon the scaffold, whilk he usit in his princely government. He spake, led about and urgit by the commanders at the four nooks of the scaffold; but after that ance he had very fectfully[2] and gravely uttered, at guid length, that whilk he had to speak, thereafter almaist he altered not thir words: "It is for my sins that God has justly brought me to this place; for gif I had served my God as truly as I did my king, I had not come here. But as for that I am condemned for by men, I am innocent, as God knows. Pray for me." . . . . I [am] content to have recordit the wark of God, whilk I saw with my ees and heard with my ears.'—*Ja. Mel.*

'After all was done, he went without fear and laid his neck upon the block, crying continually: "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," till the axe of the Maiden—which he himself had caused make after the pattern which he had seen at Halifax in Yorkshire—falling upon his neck, put an end to his life and that

[1] This Scotch law-phrase has become familiar in England, under the form of 'art and part,' and is not in general correctly understood. The first word is not art, but *airt*, meaning direction, implying that the accused was believed to have counselled and guided the actual perpetrators of the crime.

[2] Powerfully.

note together. His body was carried to the Tolbooth, and buried secretly in the night in the Greyfriars. His head was affixed on the gate of the city.' —*H. of G.*



The Maiden.

The Maiden, which still exists in the Museum of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland, is an instrument of the same nature as the guillotine, a loaded knife running in an upright frame, and descending upon a cross-beam, on which the neck of the culprit is laid. It is not unlikely that the ex-Regent introduced the Maiden; but another allegation, which asserts him to have been the first to suffer by it, is untrue.

June 11.—An entry in the Lord Treasurer's books reveals the mood of the gay king and his courtiers, nine days after the bloody end of Morton. It is Sunday, and James is residing with the Duke of Lennox at Dalkeith Castle. He attends the parish church within the town, and, after service, returns, with *two pipers playing before him.*[1]

Nov.—At this time, upwards of twenty years after the Reformation, it was still found that 'the dregs of idolatry' existed in sundry parts of the realm, 'by using of pilgrimage to

1 'Item, to ane pyper and ane young boy his sone that playit in Dalkeytht upon Sonday the xj day of Junii, fra the kirk to the castell befoir his Hienes . . . xxs.'

some chapels, wells, crosses, ... as also by observing of the festival-days of the sancts, sometime namit their patrons; in setting furth of banefires, [and] singing of carols within and about kirks at certain seasons of the year.' An act of parliament was now passed, condemning these practices, and imposing heavy fines on those guilty of them; failing which, the transgressors to endure a month's imprisonment upon bread and water.

1582.

June.—The archbishopric of Glasgow being vacant, Mr Robert Montgomery accepted it from the king, on an understanding with the king's favourite, the Duke of Lennox, as to the income. The church excommunicated him. In Edinburgh, 'he was openly onbeset [waylaid] by lasses and rascals of the town, and hued out by flinging of stones at him, out at the Kirk of Field port, and narrowly escaped with his life.'—*Moy.*

Sep. 4.—One consequence of the *coup d'état* at Ruthven was the return of John Durie from the banishment into which he had gone in May, to resume his ministry in Edinburgh. The affair makes a fine historic picture.

'As he is coming from Leith to Edinburgh, there met him at the Gallow Green two hundred men of the inhabitants of Edinburgh. Their number still increased till he came within the Nether Bow. There they began [with bare heads and loud voices] to sing the 124th psalm—"Now Israel may say, and that truly," &c., in four parts [till heaven and earth resounded]. They came up the street to the Great Kirk, singing thus all the way, to the number of two thousand. They were much moved themselves, and so were the beholders. The Duke [of Lennox, who was lodged in the High Street, and looked out and saw] was astonished and more affrayed at that sight than at anything that ever he had seen before in Scotland, and rave his beard for anger. After exhortation made in the reader's place by Mr James Lowson, to thankfulness, and the singing of a psalm, they dissolved with great joy.'—*Cal.*

Sep. 5.—Another consequence of the change at court was,

that the Duke of Lennox was forced to leave the kingdom. The Presbyterian historians relate the manner of his departure with evident relish. 'The duke departed out of the town, after noon, accompanied with the provost, bailies, and five hundred men. . . . . He rode towards Glasgow, accompanied by the Lord Maxwell, the Master of Livingstone, the Master of Eglintoun, Ferniehirst, and sundry other gentlemen.'—*Cal.* . . . He 'remained in Dunbarton at the West Sea, where, or [ere] he gat passage, he was put to as hard a diet as he caused the Earl of Morton to use there; yea, even to the other extremity that he had used at court; for, whereas his kitchen was sae sumptuous that lumps of butter was cast in the fire when it soked [grew dull], and twa or three crowns waird upon a stock of kale dressing, he was fain to eat of a meagre guse, scoudered with beare strae.'—*Melville's Diary.*

Sep. 28.—Died in Edinburgh, George Buchanan, in his seventy-seventh year, immediately after concluding his *History of Scotland.* His high literary accomplishments, especially his exquisite Latin composition, have made his name permanently famous. His personal character was not without its shades, yet it stands forth amidst the rough scenes of that time as something, on the whole, venerable.

A little while before Buchanan's death, while his history was passing through the press of Alexander Arbuthnot in Edinburgh, the Rev. James Melville, accompanied by his uncle Andrew, came from St Andrews 'anes-errand'—that is, on set purpose—to see him and his work. 'When we came to his chalmer,' says Melville, 'we fand him sitting in his chair, teaching his young man that servit in his chalmer to spell a, b, ab; e, b, eb, &c. After salutation, Mr Andrew says: "I see, sir, ye are not idle." "Better this," quoth he, "nor stealing sheep, or sitting idle, whilk is as ill." Thereafter he show us the Epistle Dedicatory to the King; the whilk when Mr Andrew had read he tauld him it was obscure in some places, and wanted certain words to perfite the sentence. Says he: "I may do nae mair for thinking on another matter." "What

is that?" says Mr Andrew. "To die," quoth he; "but I leave that and mony mae things for you to help."

'We went from him to the printer's wark-house, whom we fand at the end of the 17 buik of his chronicle, at a place whilk we thought very hard for the time, whilk might be an occasion of staying the haill wark, anent the burial of Davie [that is, Riccio]. Thereafter, staying the printer from proceeding, we came to Mr George again, and fand him bedfast by [contrary to] his custom; and asking him how he did—"Even going the way of weelfare," says he. Mr Thomas, his cousin, shows him the hardness of that part of his story, that the king might be offended with it, and it might stay all the wark. "Tell me, man," says he, "gif I have tauld the truth?" "Yes," says Mr Thomas, "sir, I think sae." "I will bide his feud and all his kin's then," quoth he.'

Dec. 10.—The king's new councillors of course felt that hard measure had been dealt to the ex-Regent. At this date, 'the Earl of Morton's head was taken down off the prick which is upon the high gavell of the Tolbooth, with the king's license, at the eleventh hour of the day; was laid in a fine cloth, convoyed honourably, and laid in the kist where his body was buried. The Laird of Carmichael carried it, shedding tears abundantly by the way.'—*Cal.*

1582–3.

While the king was in the hands of the Ruthven conspirators, two gentlemen came as ambassadors from France to see what could be done for him, and were of course treated with little civility by the royal councillors. The second, M. de Menainville, must have been the less acceptable to them, if it was true which was alleged, that he had been one of the chief devisers of the league in Picardy against the Protestants. With some difficulty, De Menainville made his way into the royal presence at Holyroodhouse (Jan. 23). The king, with much ado, prevailed upon the magistracy of Edinburgh to give the other ambassador, the Sieur de la Motte Fenelon, a banquet on the eve of his departure. The kirk-session (Feb. 4) opposed the

entertainment; and when they found they could not prevent it, they did the next best—held a solemn fast, with preachings and psalm-singing, during the whole time of the feast—namely, from betwixt nine and ten in the morning till two in the afternoon. The ministers called the banquet a holding fellowship with 'the murderers of the sancts of God.'—*Cal.*

1583.

Mar. 28.—De Menainville remained for some time after. 'Upon Thursday the 28th of March, commonly called Skyre Thursday, [he] called into his lodging thirteen poor men, and washed their feet according to the popish manner, whereat the people was greatly offended.'—*Cal.*

Sep. 10.—The king having now escaped from his Ruthven councillors, and fallen once more under the influence of the Earl of Arran, Sir Francis Walsingham came as Elizabeth's ambassador to express her concern about these movements, and see what could be done towards opposite effects. Coming to a king with an unwelcome message has never been a pleasant duty; but it must have been particularly disagreeable on this occasion, if it be true, as is alleged by a Presbyterian historian, that Arran—who, says he, within a few days after his return to court, 'began to look braid'—hounded out a low woman, called *Kate the witch*, to assail the ambassador with vile speeches as he passed to and from the king's presence.—*Cal.*

1584.

Thomas Vautrollier, a French Protestant, who had come to England early in Elizabeth's reign, migrated about this time to Edinburgh, where he set up a printing-press. From his office proceeded this year a small volume of poems, composed by the young king, under the title of *The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie;* to which was added a prose treatise embracing the 'rules and cautels for Scottish poesie:' a volume of which it may be enough to say, that it betrays a laudable love of literature in the royal author, joined to some power of literary expression. Vautrollier does not appear to have met

with sufficient encouragement to induce him to remain in Edinburgh, as he soon after returned to London.

July.—At the end of this month, the pest was brought into Scotland at Wester Wemyss, a small port in Fife—'where many departed.'—*Moy.*

King James tells us in his *Basilicon Doron* that 'the pest always smites the sickarest such as flies it furthest and apprehends deepliest the peril thereof.' See his own conduct on this occasion. About the end of September, while he was hunting at Ruthven, 'word came that there were five or six houses in Perth affected with the plague, where his majesty's servants were for the time. Whereupon, his majesty *departed the same night* with a very small train to Tullibardine, and next day to Stirling, leaving his whole household servants inclosed in the place of Ruthven, with express command to them not to follow, nor remove forth of the same, until they saw what became of them upon the suspicion.'—*Moy. R.*

The pest on this occasion remained in Perth for several months, working great destruction. It was ordained by the kirk-session, May 24, 1585, that 'hereafter during the time of the plague, no banquets should be at marriages, and no persons should resort to bridals under pain of ten pounds . . . . forty pounds to be paid by them that call more than four on the side to the banquet, or bridal, during the pest.'

In the ensuing February, under an apprehension about the arrival of the pestilence in their city, the town-council of Edinburgh adopted a highly rational sanitary measure, ordering the ashes, dust, and dirt of their streets to be put up to auction. We do not learn that any one undertook to pay for the privilege of cleaning the streets of the capital, and Maitland remarks in his History, that many years elapsed before the movement was renewed, not to say carried into effect.

Dec. 2.—'. . . . a baxter's boy, called Robert Henderson—no doubt by the instigation of Satan—desperately put some powder and a candle in his father's heather-stack, standing in a

close opposite to the Tron of Edinburgh [the public weighing-machine], and burnt the same, with his father's house, which lay next adjacent, to the imminent hazard of burning the whole town. For which, being apprehended most marvellously, after his escaping out of the town, he was on the next day burnt quick at the cross, as an example.'—*Moy. R.*

1585.

May 7.—The pest, which had commenced in Perth in the previous September, was believed to be now brought thence by a servant-woman to the Fishmarket in Edinburgh (*Moy.*), where it 'was first knawn to be in Simon Mercerbanks's house.' (*Bir.*) From accident or otherwise, the king acted on this occasion exactly as he had done at Perth, when the plague first declared itself there. On the very day when the disease appeared in Edinburgh, he left the city, and 'rode to Dirleton to a sumptuous banquet prepared by the Earl of Arran.' (*Cal.*) The pest continued in the capital till the subsequent January, sometimes carrying off twenty-four people in a single night. 'The haill people whilk was able to flee, fled out of the town: nevertheless there died of people which were not able to flee, fourteen hundred and some odd.' (*Bir.*) It was at St Andrews in August, 'and continued till upwards of four hundred people died, and the place was left almost desolate.' (*Moy.*) Duns is cited as a place where this pestilence 'raged extremely.' (*Mar.*) In Perth, between 24th September 1584 and August 1585, when it ceased, it carried off fourteen hundred and twenty-seven persons, young and old, or thereby. (*Chron. Perth.*) This could not be less than a sixth of the entire population.

Reign of James the Sixth.

1585–1590.

THESE years were chiefly marked by the struggles of the more zealous clergy to replace the church upon a purely Presbyterian basis, and to maintain their assumed independence of the civil power. The king found his power encroached on, upon the one hand, by nobles richer, and having a greater command of followers, than himself; on the other, by divines who repudiated all subjection to civil authority in matters ecclesiastical, and yet arrogated powers which greatly concerned the secular rights and liberties of the people. At the same time, seeing that the Catholics were friends of monarchy, and might have something to say in the English succession, he desired, if possible, to avoid offending them past forgiveness. Even the ultra-zealous Presbyterian clergy, who came to remonstrate with him, in his own palace, on his public acts or his private foibles, he could treat with such pleasantry as often disarmed them, when a more strenuous policy might have failed.

In February 1586–7, the unfortunate Mary was beheaded in Fotheringay Castle, a victim to the necessities of the Protestant cause.

In 1588, when this cause was threatened with destruction by the Spanish Armada, King James and his people manifested the greatest zeal in preparing for the defence of their part of the island. They entered into a Covenant or bond, in which they made solemn profession of the Protestant faith, and avowed their resolution to oppose popery by every means in their power.

In the latter part of 1589, James effected his marriage with the Princess Anne of Denmark. His young bride being detained in Norway for the winter, in consequence of a storm, he sailed for that

country (October 22), and solemnised his nuptials at Upslo (now Christiania). In May 1590, the royal pair arrived amidst great rejoicings at Leith. The first year of the king's married life was strangely disturbed by a series of trials for the imaginary crime of witchcraft, in which the character of the age is strongly marked.

1586.

Apr. 18.—The Earl of Eglintoun, 'a young nobleman of a fair and large stature' (*Moy.*), was murdered by Cunningham of Robertland.

Montgomery and Cunningham were the Montague and Capulet of Ayrshire in the sixteenth century. The feud had sprung up nearly a hundred years before the above date, in consequence of the Earl of Glencairn disputing the title of the Earl of Eglintoun to the bailiery of the district of Cunningham. There had been attempts at a stanching of the feud, and even a marriage had been proposed by way of fixing the parties in amity; but at a time when peace had nearly been effected, enmity was renewed in consequence of a Montgomery killing a Cunningham in self-defence.

'The Cunninghams, being grieved hereat, made presently a vow that they should be avenged upon the fattest of the Montgomeries (for these were their words) for that fact. This vow was sae acceptable to them all, that a band was concludit, subscrivit with the chiefest of their hands, to slay the young Earl [of Eglintoun] by whatsoever mean could be devisit, and that whasoever wald take the turn in hand, and perform it, he sould not only be sustenit upon the common expenses of the rest, but sould also be maintenit and defendit by them all from danger and skaith. At last ane Cunningham of Robertland took the enterprise in hand, whilk he accomplished in this manner:

'Twa year before his treasonable attempt, he insinuate himself in familiarity and all dutiful service to the said young earl, whereby he movit him to take pleasure without ony suspicion till he conqueist [acquired] sic favour at his hand, that neither the gold, money, horses, armour, clothes, council,

or voyage was hid from him, that this same Robertland was made sae participant of them all, even as though they had been his awn; and besides all this, the confidence and favour that the earl show unto him was sae great, that he preferrit him to be his awn bedfellow. Hereat Lord Hugo, auld Earl of Eglintoun, took great suspicion, and therefore admonist his son in a fatherly manner to beware of sic society, whilk, without all doubt, wald turn to his skaith; for he knew weel the nature of these Cunninghams to be subtle and false, and therefore willit him to give them nae traist, but to avoid their company altogether, even as he lovit his awn life or wald deserve his fatherly blessing. To this counsel the son gave little regard; but that was to his pains; and the domestic enemy was sae crafty indeed, that he wald attempt naething during the life of the father for many respects. But within short time thereafter [the father died June 1585], as the noble earl was passing a short way in pastime, accompanied with a very few of his household servants, and evil horsit himself, Robertland, accompanied with sixty armed men, came running furiously against him on horseback; and the earl, fearing the thing that followit, spurrit his horse to have fled away. His servants all fled another way, and he was left alone. The horsemen ran all upon him, and unmercifully killed him with shots of guns and strokes of swords.

'The complaint of this odious murder being made to the king, he causit the malefactors to be chargit to a trial. But they all fled beyond sea. Robertland, wha was the first to make the invasion, passed to Denmark, where he remainit at court till the king came to Queen Anne. And because nane of the rest could be apprehendit, the king ordainit their houses to be renderit to the earl's brother, to be usit at his arbitrament, either to be demolishit or otherwise; and he swore the great aith, that he sould never pardon any of them that had committit that odious murder. Yet, how soon his majesty was arrivit in Denmark, his pardon was demandit of the queen for the first petition, and the same was obtenit, and he was receivit in grace there in presence of them all. Thereafter

he came hame in the queen's company, and remains as ane of her majesty's master stablers.'—*H. K. J.*

1586–7.

Feb.—A few days before the death of Queen Mary in Fotheringay Castle, the king, her son, 'to manifest his natural affection towards his dearest mother, whose preservation he always earnestly wished, required the ministers to pray for her, at all preachings and common prayers, after the following form: "The Lord illuminate and enlighten her spirit, that she may attain to the knowledge of His truth, for the safety of soul and body, and preserve her from the present peril."

'Some of the ministry agreed to that form of prayer, thinking it very lawful, since it was his majesty's pleasure; but some of them, especially the ministers of Edinburgh, refused to pray but as they were moved by the spirit.'

'On the 3d of February [five days before Mary's execution], the king appointed Patrick, Archbishop of St Andrews, a man evil thought of by the ministry and others, to preach in the kirk of Edinburgh, and resolved to attend the preaching himself.[1] When the day came, Mr John Coupar, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, accompanied with the rest of the brethren, came in and prevented the bishop, by taking place in the pulpit before his coming into the kirk; and as the said John was beginning the prayer, the king's majesty commanded him to stop; whereupon he gave a knock on the pulpit, using an exclamation in these terms: "This day shall bear witness against you in the day of the Lord. Woe be to thee, O Edinburgh! for the last of thy plagues shall be worse than the first!" After having uttered these words, he passed down from the pulpit, and, together with the whole wives in the kirk, removed out of the same.'—*Moy. R.*

It gives a striking idea of the difficulty attending the transmission of intelligence in those days—in connection, it

[1] It is understood that this was the place of worship formed out of the choir or eastern portion of the church of St Giles. Opposite to the pulpit, which was attached to the first pillar from the east end, was the royal gallery or loft, also attached to a pillar. Thus the king and the minister were sufficiently near each other for the colloquies in which they occasionally indulged. See Wilson's *Memorials of Edinburgh.*

must be owned, in this instance, with the deceitful and stealthy conduct of Elizabeth—that Mary had been upwards of a fortnight dead before her son King James was fully apprised of the fact in Edinburgh. On the 15th, he received a message from Kerr of Cessford, the warden of the Borders, informing him that the English warden had just communicated to him this sad intelligence. Not believing it on this authority, the king went to hunt at Calder, but at the same time sent his secretary to Berwick to make inquiry. This gentleman returned on the 23d, with certain information of Mary's death. 'This put his majesty into a very great displeasure and grief, so that he went to bed that night without supper; and on the morrow, by seven o'clock, went to Dalkeith, there to remain solitary.' —*Moy. R.*

1587.

May.—The French poet Guillaume Sallust, Sieur du Bartas, paid a visit to Scotland. For any eminent literary man of either England or France to travel north of the Tweed, was as yet a rarity and a marvel. The king, however, had contracted an admiration of Du Bartas, and translated some of his poetry; and now a royal invitation had brought him to Holyrood. It would be curious to learn what were the sentiments of the polite Frenchman on coming in contact with James's circle at the palace, or seeing the rude state of the people generally throughout the country.

We learn that 'he was received according to his worthiness, entertained honourably, and liberally propined'—that is, favoured with presents. At the end of June, the king made an excursion to St Andrews, taking the French poet along with him, that he might see the principal seat of learning in Scotland. We have some curious particulars of the visit from the Dutch pencil of James Melville. St Mary's College, the principal theological seminary of the country, was now presided over by the faithful Presbyterian Andrew Melville, the man of most marked talent and energy in the Scotch church after the days of Knox. In the Castle lived, in much reduced state, the nominal archbishop, Patrick Adamson, a man of fine literary

talents, but weak in character, and, upon the whole, not a credit to Scottish Episcopacy. James admired and patronised Adamson; but he had a trembling faith in the powerful wit and inflexible courage and integrity of Melville. The king, 'coming first without any warning to the new college [St Mary's], he calls for Mr Andrew, saying he was come with that gentleman to have a lesson. Mr Andrew answers, "that he had teached his ordinar that day in the forenoon." "That is all ane," says the king; "I maun have a lesson, and be here within an hour for that effect." And indeed, within less than an hour, his majesty was in the school, and the haill university convenit with him, before whom Mr Andrew extempore entreated maist clearly and mightily of the right government of Christ, and in effect refuted the haill acts of parliament made against the discipline thereof, to the great instruction and comfort of his auditory, except the king alane, wha was very angry all that night.'

The Sieur du Bartas was 'dismissed in the harvest, to his majesty's great praise, sae lang as the French tongue is used and understood in the world.'—*Ja. Mel.*

The small merchant-craft of Scotland was much troubled with pirates, chiefly of the English nation. James Melville gives a lively account of an affair with an English piratical vessel, which took place in connection with the Fife port where he served as pastor.

'At my first coming to Anstruther there fell out a heavy accident, whilk vexit my mind mickle at first, but drew me mickle nearer my God, and teached me what it was to have a care of a flock. Ane of our crears,[1] returning from England, was beset by an English pirate, pill[ag]ed, and a very guid honest man of Anstruther slain therein. The whilk loon[2] coming pertly to the very road of Pittenweem, spulyied a ship lying therein, and misused the men thereof. This wrang could not be suffered by our men, lest they should be made a common prey to sic limmers.[3] Therefore, purchasing a commission,

[1] A light bark with one mast. [2] Rascal. [3] Worthless fellows.

they riggit out a proper fly-boat, and every man encouraging another, made almaist the haill honest and best men in all the town to go in her to the sea. This was a great vexation and grief to my heart, to see at my first entry the best part of my flock ventured upon a pack of pirates, whereof the smallest member of the meanest was mair in valour [value] than a shipful of them. I neither ate, drank, nor sleepit, but by constraint of nature, my thought and care always being upon them, and commending them to God, till aucht or ten days were endit, and they in sight returning, with all guid tokens of joy, flags, streamers, and ensignie displayed, whom with great joy we receivit, and went together to the kirk and praised God.

'The captain for the time, a godly, wise, and stout man, recounted to me truly their haill proceeding. That they, meeting with their admiral, a great ship of St Andrews, weel riggit out by the burghs, being fine of sail, went before her all the way, and made every ship they forgathered with, of whatsomever nation, to strike and do homage to the king of Scotland, shawing them for what cause they were riggit forth, and inquiring of knaves and pirates. At last, they meet with a proud stiff Englishman, wha refuses to do reverence; therefore the captain, thinking it was a loon, commands to give them his *nose-piece*,[1] the whilk delashit[2] lights on the tie of the Englishman's mainsail, and down it comes; then he yields, being but a merchant. But there was the merciful providence of God, in staying a great piece of the Englishman, lying out her stern in readiness to be shot, whilk, if it had lighted amang our folks, being many in little room, without fence, wald have cruelly demeaned them all. But God, directing that first shot, preserved them. From them they approached to the shore at Suffolk, and finds by Providence the loon [rogue], wha had newlins taken a crear of our awn town, and was spulying her. Howsoon they spy ane coming warlike, the loons leave their prize, and run their ship on land, our fly-boat after, and almaist was on land with them; yet, staying hard by, they delash their ordnance at the loons, and a number going a-land, pursues and takes a half-

[1] A gun in the poop of the ship. [2] Discharged.

dozen of them, and puts them aboard in their boat. The gentlemen of the country and towns beside, hearing the noise of shooting, gathers with haste, supposing the Spanyard had landed, and apprehending a number of the loons in our men's hands, desirit to knaw the matter. The whilk when the justices of peace understood, and saw the king of Scotland's arms, with twa gallant ships in warlike manner, yielded and gave reverence thereto, suffering our folks to take with them their prisoners and pirate's ship, whilk they brought with them, with half-a-dozen of the loons; whereof twa were hangit on our pier-end, the rest in St Andrews; with nae hurt at all to any of our folks, wha ever since syne have been free from English pirates. All praise to God for ever. Amen.'

May.—King James at this time attempted what Dr Robertson, with somewhat too much complaisance, calls a work worthy of a king. Many of his nobility were at feud with each other on account of past grievances. For example, Glammis bore deadly hatred against the Earl of Crawford, in consequence of the killing of his father by some of Crawford's people at Stirling in 1578. With the Earl of Angus, whose piety and love of the clergy induced James to call him *the Ministers' King*, it was sufficient ground of hostility against the Earl of Montrose that he had sat as chancellor on the jury which adjudged Morton to the Maiden. The Earls of Huntly and Marischal had some mutual grudge of their own, perhaps little intelligible to southern men. So it was with others. The nobility being now assembled at a convention, James, who never could check outrages amongst them by the sword of justice, did what a good-natured weak man could to induce them to be reconciled to each other, and call it peace when there was no peace. Assembling them all at a banquet in Holyrood on a Sunday he drank to them thrice, and solemnly called on them to maintain concord, threatening to be an enemy to him who should first disobey the injunction. Next day, after supper, then an early meal, and after 'many scolls' had been drunk to each other, he made them all march in procession 'in their

doublets' up the Canongate, two and two, holding by each other's hands, and each pair being a couple of reconciled enemies. He himself went in front, with Lord Hamilton on his right hand, and the Lord Chancellor Maitland on the left; next after, the Duke of Lennox and Lord Claud Hamilton; then Angus and Montrose, Huntly and Marischal, Crawford and the Master of Glammis. Coming to the Tolbooth, his majesty ordered all the prisoners for debt to be released. Thence he advanced to the picturesque old market-cross, covered with tapestry for the occasion, and where the magistrates had set out a long table well furnished with bread, wine, and sweetmeats. Amidst the blare of trumpets and the boom of cannon, the young monarch publicly drank to his nobles, wishing them peace and happiness, and made them all drink to each other. The people, long accustomed to sights of bloody contention, looked on with unspeakable joy, danced, broke into songs of mirth, and brought out all imaginable musical instruments to give additional, albeit discordant expression, to their happiness. All acknowledged that no such sight had ever been seen in Edinburgh. In the general transport, the gloomy gibbet, usually kept standing there in readiness, was cast down, as if it could never again be needed. Sweetmeats, and glasses from which toasts had been drunk, flew about both from the table of the feast and from the responsive parties on the *forestairs*. When all was done, the king and nobles returned in the same form as they had come.—*Moy. Bir. Cal. H. K. J.*

Healing measures like these were not nearly so good as they seemed. In less than two months, we find six or seven of the nobles quarrelling about priority of voting, and Lord Home passing a challenge to Lord Fleming—'wha were not sufferit to fecht, albeit they were baith weel willing.'

In consequence of a bad crop in 1586, there was 'great scant and dearth' this year, 'and great death of people for hunger.'—*H. K. J.*

Sep.—Patrick Hamilton, brother of the Laird of Preston, and

captain of Brodick Castle in Arran, was denounced rebel for not appearing before the king and council, to answer a complaint of Abacuck Bisset, writer to the Signet in Edinburgh. It appears that Patrick, accompanied by two nephews, had attacked Mr Bisset in St Giles's Kirk in Edinburgh, during the sitting of parliament, with a sword, and cut off 'the haill fingers of his left hand.'

This Abacuck Bisset was clerk to Sir John Skene, Lord Clerk Register. The father of this worthy writer was caterer to Queen Mary. One day, as she was passing to mass, he acquainted her with his having a child to be baptised, and desired her to assign the infant its name. She said she would open the Bible in the chapel, and whatever name she cast up, that should be given to the child. The name cast up was that of the prophet Habakkuk, which, in the form of Abacuck, was accordingly conferred on the future writer.

'The pest brake up in harvest in Leith, by opening up of some old kists, and in Edinburgh about the 4th of November. It continued in these two towns this winter till Candlemas.' —*Cal.*

This pest 'strake a great terror in Edinburgh and all the coast-side,' says James Melville. He adds: 'By occasion thereof, we began the exercise of daily doctrine and prayers in our kirk, whilk continues to this day with great profit and comfort, baith of the teachers and hearers.'

In October 1588, the town-council of Glasgow was in great apprehension of a visit of the pest, as it was then in Paisley. They made arrangements for guarding the ports, to prevent the entrance of people from the infected district.—*M. of G.*

1588.

May 28.—Alison Peirson, in Byrehill, was tried for witchcraft. The verdict recites a number of strange and incoherent charges which had been proved against her, but whose entire tenor only shows that she was a sickly nervous woman, who took her own dreams and fancies for realities. According to her own account, she had learned unlawful arts from her cousin,

Mr William Simpson, son of one who had been the king's smith at Stirling, and who had acquired his skill from a big Egyptian, by whom he had been carried away in his childhood and kept for twelve years. Being in her own youth afflicted with loss of power in one of her sides, she had applied to Mr William in Lothian, and he had not only cured her, but taught her by charms to be a healer of disease herself. Since then, she had haunted the company of the Queen of Elfame,[1] but had not seen her for the last seven years. At one time she had many good friends in Elfame; but they were all dead now. Sometimes she would be in her bed quite well, but could not tell where or in what state she might be next day. Lying down sick in Grangemuir, near Anstruther, she had seen a man in green clothes, whom she asked to help her: he went away at that time, but appeared afterwards with a multitude of people, when 'she sanit her [blessed herself] and prayit, and passed with them further nor she could tell; and saw with them piping, and merriness, and gude cheer, and was carried to Lothian, and saw wine-puncheons with tasses [cups] with them.' 'Oft-times they wald come and sit beside her, and promised that she should never want gif she wald be faithful and keep promises, but, gif she wald speak and tell of them and their doings, they sould martyr her.' For the last sixteen years, Alison had been frequenting St Andrews as a practitioner in unlawful methods of healing, and where among her patients had been no less a person than the titular Archbishop Adamson—a fact of which his enemies did not fail to take advantage in pasquinading him. For the healing of his grace, Simpson had bidden her 'make ane saw [salve] and rub it on his cheeks, his craig, his breast, stomach, and sides, and siclike gave her directions to use the ewe-milk, or waidrave [probably woodruff], with the herbs, claret wine; and with some other things she gave him ane sodden fowl; and that she made ane quart at ance, whilk he drank at twa draughts, twa sundry diets.' Poor Alison was convicted and burnt.—*Pit.*

[1] Elfhame or Elfland, that is, Fairyland.

July 21.—At the very time when the Spanish Armada was at sea, a Catholic pair of high rank, much though secretly interested in favour of that enterprise, were wedded at Holyrood. The bridegroom was the young Earl of Huntly, and the bride Henrietta Stuart, eldest daughter of the late Duke of Lennox. The affair was conducted with 'great triumph, mirth, and pastime;' but some of the other circumstances were of a more remarkable nature. The Presbyterian clergy, in a paroxysm of apprehension about the Armada, took up the strange position of refusing to allow the marriage to be performed by any clergyman capable of showing his face in the country, unless the earl should first sign the Confession of Faith—that is, abjure his religion. Huntly was induced to profess an inclination to comply, but professed to stickle at some of the Protestant doctrines. The king, on the other hand, who felt as the father of the bride, and knew that Huntly was in reality his friend, favoured and facilitated the match. To the great chagrin of the Presbyterian clergy, the ceremony was at length performed by Patrick Adamson, archbishop of St Andrews—who, however, was afterwards brought to their feet as an abject penitent, declaring among other things, 'I married the Earl of Huntly contrair the kirk's command, without the confession of his faith, and profession of the sincere doctrine of the Word; I repent, and craves God pardon.'

Aug.—Great excitement prevailed throughout all Scotland, in apprehension of invasion by the Spanish Armada. There was not wanting a party prepared to co-operate with the Spaniards, if they had landed in Scotland. In this exigency, the king was compelled to forget his anger at Elizabeth on account of the recent death of his mother; he made all possible preparation for resistance, and when Sir Robert Sidney, the English ambassador, told him that if the Spaniard took England, the king might expect no greater kindness at his hand, James 'merrily answered: "That he looked for no other benefit of the Spaniard in that case than that which Polyphemus promised to

Ulysses—namely, to devour him after all his fellows were devoured."'—*Spot.*

'Terrible was the fear,' says James Melville, 'piercing were the preachings, earnest, zealous, and fervent were the prayers, sounding were the sichs and sobs, and abounding was the tears at that fast and General Assembly keepit at Edinburgh, when the news were credibly tauld, sometimes of their landing at Dunbar, sometimes at St Andrews, and in Tay, and now and then at Aberdeen and Cromarty Firth. And in very deed, as we knew certainly soon after, the Lord of armies, wha rides upon the wings of the winds, the keeper of his awn Israel, was in the meantime convoying that monstrous navy about our coasts, and directing their hulks and galiots to the islands, rocks, and sands, whereupon he had destinat their wrack and destruction. For within twa or three month thereafter, early in the morning, ane of our bailies came to my bedside, saying (but not with fray): "I have to tell you news, sir. There is arrivit within our harbour [Anstruther, on the coast of Fife] this morning a ship full of Spaniards, but not to give mercy but to ask." And sae shaws me that the commanders had landed, and he had commandit them to their ship again till the magistrates of the town had advisit, and the Spaniards had humbly obeyit; therefore desirit me to rise and hear their petition with them. Up I got with diligence, and assembling the honest men of the town, came to the tolbooth; and after consultation taken to hear them, and what answer to make, there presents us a very reverend man of big stature, and grave and stout countenance, gray-haired, and very humble-like, wha, after meikle and very low courtesy, bowing down with his face near the ground, and touching my shoe with his hand, began his harangue in the Spanish tongue, whereof I understood the substance, and being about to answer in Latin, he having only a young man with him to be his interpreter, began and tauld ower again to us in gude English. The sum was, that King Philip, his master, had riggit out a navy and army to land in England for just causes to be avengit of many intolerable wrangs whilk he had receivit of that nation; but God for their sins had been against them,

and, by storm of weather, had driven the navy by the coast of England, and him, with a certain [number] of captains, being the general of twenty hulks, upon an isle in Scotland, callit the Fair Isle, where they made shipwreck, and where sae mony as had escapit the merciless sea, had mair nor sax or seven weeks sufferit great hunger and cauld, till, conducting that bark out of Orkney, they were come hither as to their special friends and confederates to kiss the king's majesty's hand of Scotland (and therewith becket [bowed] even to the yird), and to find relief and comfort thereby to himself, these gentlemen captains, and the poor souldiers whase condition was for the present maist miserable and pitiful.

'I answerit this meikle in sum: "That, howbeit neither our friendship, whilk could not be great, seeing their king and they were friends to the greatest enemy of Christ, the pope of Rome, and our king and we defied him, nor yet their cause against our neighbours and special friends of England could procure any benefit at our hands for their relief and comfort; nevertheless, they should know by experience that we were men, and sae moved by humane compassion, and Christians of better religion nor they, whilk should kythe in the fruits and effect plain contrair to theirs." Sae [I] show him that the bailies granted him license with the captains to go to their lodging for their refreshment, but to nane of their men to land till the ower-lord of their town was advertised, and understand the king's majesty's mind anent them. Thus, with great courtesy, he departed.

'That night, the lord being advertised, came, and on the morn, accompanied with a gude number of the gentlemen of the country round about, gave the said general and the captains presence, and after the same speeches, in effect as before, receivit them in his house, and entertained them humanely, and sufferit the souldiers to come a-land, and lie altogether, to the number of thirteen score, for the maist part young beardless men, silly [weak], trauchled [worn-out], and hungred, to the whilk a day or two kail, pottage, and fish was given.'

The shipwrecked Spaniards were not everywhere so well

treated. The kirk-session of Perth, May 18, 1589, ordered the keepers of the town-gates to exclude *Spaniards and other idle vagabonds and beggars*, and commanded that all such persons now in the town should immediately leave it.

1589.

July.—A sad accident occurred in the family of Lord Somerville, at Drum, near Edinburgh.

'The Lord Somerville having come from Cowthally early in the morning, in regard the weather was hot, he had ridden hard to be at the Drum by ten o'clock, which having done, he laid him down to rest. The servant, with his two sons, William, Master of Somerville, and John his brother, went with the horses to ane shot of land, called the Pretty Shot, directly opposite to the front of the house, where there was some meadow-ground for grazing the horses, and willows to shadow themselves from the heat. They had not long continued in this place, when the Master of Somerville, after some little rest, awaking from his sleep, and finding his pistols that lay hard by him wet with dew, he began to rub and dry them, when unhappily one of them went off the ratch [lock], being lying on his knee and the muzzle turned sideways. The ball struck his brother John directly in the head, and killed him outright, so that his sorrowful brother never had one word from him, albeit he begged it with many tears. A lamentable case, and much to be pitied, two brave young gentlemen so nearly related, and dearly loving one another, who besides their being brethren by birth, were entirely so in affection, communicating all their affairs and designs one to the other, wherein they were never known to differ in the least. . . . .

'The father, hearing the shot, leapt from his [bed] (being then in the chamber of dais), to the south light, and seeing his son and servants all in a cluster, called aloud to know the matter; but receiving no answer, he suspected some mischief, and thereupon flew hastily down the stair, and went directly to the place where they were, which the gentlemen observing, they advised the Master to take him to his horse until his father's passion and fury should be over, which at length, upon

their earnest entreaty, he did, taking his direct way for Smeaton, where his lady-mother then lived by Smeaton Ford. The father, being come upon the place, first hears the lamentation of the servants, and then sees the sad spectacle of his son all bloody and breathless, with his head laid upon a cloak, whereon he falls himself, and cries aloud: "My son, my son, dead or alive? dead or alive?" embracing him all the time, which he continued for some space, and thereby giving opportunity for his eldest son to escape. At length, finding no motion in his dear son, all in a fury he arises and cries aloud: "Where is that murderer? who has done the deed?" Staring wildly about, missing the Master, he cries out: "O heavens, and is it he? Must I be bereft of two sons in one day? Yes, it must be so, and he shall have no other judge nor executioner but myself and these hands." And with that immediately mounts his horse, commanding two of his servants to attend him, making protestation in the meantime that they should both go to the grave together. But God was more merciful, for by this time the Master was past Smeaton Ford, and before his father came that length, he was at Fallside House, out of all danger. . . . . Coming now a little to himself, he [the father] began much to condemn this unwarrantable attempt of his, upon second thoughts. Before he came back, the sad object of his sorrow was removed to the place of Drum, and the corpse decently handled by the ladies of Edmonston, Woolmet, and Sheriff-hall, near neighbours, for in less than ane hour the report went over all the country. Yea, before the king rose from dinner he had notice of it, being then in Holyroodhouse, with the circumstance of the father's following the other son with intention to kill him; for which the king, within three days thereafter (the Lord Somerville coming to wait upon his majesty), reproved him by saying "he was a madman, that having lost one son by so sudden an accident, should needs wilfully destroy another himself, in whom, as he was certainly informed, there was neither malice nor design, but a great misfortune, occasioned by unwary handling of the pistol, which should have rather been a matter of regret and sorrow to him

that the like had happened in his family, than that he should have sought after revenge. Therefore he commanded him to send for his eldest son and be reconciled to him, for he knew he was a sober youth, and the very thoughts of his misfortune would afflict him enough, albeit he were not discountenanced by him."'

The unhappy principal in this tragedy was in reality an amiable young man, insomuch as to be called the Good Master of Somerville. 'I have heard it reported that Sir James Bannatyne of Newhall, one of the senators of the College of Justice, asserted there was not a properer youth trod the streets of Edinburgh, nor one of whom there was greater expectation, than William, Master of Somerville; but when God designs the ruin of a family, all supports are removed, that the fall may be the more sudden, as happened in this young nobleman's case, who after he had contracted in the latter end of February, and should have been married in April 1591, that very month he took a fever, which kept him long, and so weakened his body that he never recovered, but continued under a languishing sickness for more than ten months. It was supposed the thoughts of his own great misfortune in killing of his brother, the disagreement of his parents . . . . hastened his death. He died at Cowthally in the month of January 1592. . . . A devote gentleman, William Inglis of East Shiel, as the corpse passed the outer gate, struck upon his breast, and cried out to the hearing of many: "This day the head is as clean taken off the house of Cowthally, as you would strike off the head of a syboe!"[1] And indeed it proved so.'

Aug. 30.—The king, now hourly expecting the arrival of his Danish bride, is found writing pressing letters, to all persons of substance who bore him any good-will, for contributions of means towards the proper outset of the court on the occasion. From the Laird of Barnbarroch he entreated 'sic quantity of fat beef and mutton on foot, wild-fowls, and venison, or other stuff meet for this purpose, as possibly ye may provide and furnish of your awn or by your moyen [influence].'

[1] A small kind of onion (O. Fr. *cibolle*).

Sep.—The storm which impeded the Princess Anne's voyage from Denmark to Scotland was also felt very severely in our country, and a passage-boat between Burntisland and Leith was lost.

Oct. 22.—The king hearing of the detention of his bride by stormy weather, resolved to go to Denmark to bring her home. On the day noted, he set sail, with other five ships in company, and after outriding a gale for some time in the Firth of Forth, proceeded on his course with fair winds. Landing on the 28th at Flaikray, in Norway, he, after some days' rest, commenced a difficult land journey to Upslo—now Christiania—where the princess had taken up her residence for the winter. 'Immediately at his coming (November 19), [he] passed quietly with buits and all to her hieness . . . . he minded to give her a kiss after the Scots fashion, whilk she refusit, as not being the fashion of her country. Marry, after a few words spoken privily betwixt his majesty and her, there passed familiarity and kisses.'[1] They were married four days after at Upslo, and spent the remainder of the winter in Denmark.

1590.

July 22.—Two extraordinary trials took place, affording the most striking illustrations of the vices and superstitions of the time.

The family of Monro of Foulis, in Ross-shire, is one of great antiquity, and even so far back as 1576 was represented by the seventeenth baron in succession. Holding possessions on the borders of the Highlands, it hovered between the characters of the Celtic chief and the Lowland gentleman. Ross of Balnagowan was a rich neighbour of similar character. At that time, the *Lady Foulis*—to use her common appellation—was Catherine Ross of the latter family, the second wife of her husband. She had a son named George; but the succession was barred to him by two sons of the previous marriage of her husband, Robert and Hector.

[1] Moysie's *Memoirs.*

At the above date, she and Hector, then representative of the family, were tried separately for sundry offences, committed as far back as 1576, Hector being, strange to say, the private pursuer against his step-mother, although he had immediately after to take his own place at the bar as a criminal. The dittay against the lady set forth a number of attempts at serious crime, partly prosecuted by natural means, and partly by superstitious practices. It appeared that she had desired to put her step-son Robert out of the way, not, as might have been supposed, to favour the succession of her own offspring, but that her brother, George Ross of Balnagowan, might be free to marry Robert Monro's wife; to which end she also took steps for the removal of the wife of George Ross. It appears that she was not only prompted to, but assisted in her attempts by George Ross himself, although no judicial notice was taken of his criminality. Catherine Ross, described as daughter of Sir David Ross of Balnagowan, was also concerned. Having formed her design some time in the year 1576, Lady Foulis opened negotiations with various wretched persons in her neighbourhood who practised witchcraft; and first with one named William M'Gillivray, whom she feed with a present of linen cloth, and afterwards with sums of money. One Agnes Roy, a notorious witch, was sent by her to secure the services of a particularly potent sorceress, named Marion M'Kean M'Alister, or more commonly *Lasky Loncart*, who was brought to Foulis, and lodged with Christian Ross Malcomson, that she might assist with her diabolic arts. Christian, too, was sent to Dingwall to bring John M'Nillan, who appears to have been a wizard of note. Another, named Thomas M'Kean M'Allan M'Endrick, was taken into counsel; besides whom there were a few subordinate instruments. Some of the horrible crew being assembled at Canorth, images of the young Laird of Foulis and the young Lady Balnagowan were formed of butter, set up and shot at by Lasky Loncart with an *elf-arrow*—that is, one of those flint arrow-heads which are occasionally found, and believed by the ignorant to be fairy weapons, while in reality they are relics of our savage

ancestors. The shot was repeated eight times, but without hitting the images; so this was regarded as a failure. On another day, images of clay were set up and shot at twelve times, yet equally without effect. Linen cloth had been provided, wherewith to have swathed the images in the event of their being hit; after which they would have been interred under the bridge-end of the stank of Foulis. The object of all these proceedings was of course to produce the destruction of the persons represented by the images. This plan being ineffectual, Lady Foulis and her brother are described as soon after holding a meeting in a kiln at Drimnin, to arrange about further procedure. The result was a resolution to try the more direct means of poison with both the obnoxious persons. A stoup of poisoned ale was prepared and set aside, but was nearly all lost by a leak in the vessel. Lady Foulis then procured from Lasky Loncart a pipkin of ranker poison, which she sent to young Monro by her nurse on purpose to have destroyed him. It fell by the way and broke, when the nurse tasting the liquor, was immediately killed by it. It was said that 'the place where the pig [pipkin] brake, the gerse that grew upon the samen was so heich bye [beyond] the nature of other gerse, that neither cow nor sheep ever previt [tasted] thereof yet; whilk is manifest and notorious to the haill country of Ross.' Lady Foulis is accused of afterwards making renewed attempts, not merely to poison young Monro, but many of his relations, particularly those who stood in the way of her own son's succession. There seems, however, to have been no success in this quarter. Matters turned out better with the innocent young Lady Balnagowan. Regarding her, Lady Foulis is represented as thus expressing herself, that 'she would do, by all kind of means, wherever it might be had, of God in heaven or the devil in hell, for the destruction and down-putting of Marjory Campbell.' By corrupting a cook, Lady Foulis contrived that some rat-poison should be administered to her victim in a dish of kid's kidneys. Catherine Niven, who had brought this poison, 'scunnerit [revolted] with it sae meikle, that she said it was the sairest and maist

cruel sight that ever she saw, seeing the vomit and vexation that was on the young Lady Balnagowan and her company.' By vomiting, death seems to have been evaded, but the lady contracted in consequence what is described at the trial as an incurable illness.

Not long afterwards, these events became the subject of judicial investigation, and Christian Ross and Thomas M'Kean were apprehended, brought to trial, convicted, and burnt, November 1577.

It is alleged that, a few days before they suffered, Lady Foulis came into their presence, and referring to the common reports against her, accusing her of sorcery and poisoning, declared herself ready to abide a trial; when, there being no one present to accuse her, she asked instruments to that effect; after which, mounting a horse which had been kept ready, she rode away to Caithness, and remained there three-quarters of a year. By the intercession of the Earl of Caithness, she was then taken back by her husband; and there seems to have been no further notice taken of her case for several years. At length, in 1589, her husband being dead, his successor, Robert Monro, purchased a commission for the trial of certain witches and sorcerers, aiming evidently at retribution upon his wicked step-mother. According to the dittay: 'Before any publication thereof, and ere he might have convenient time to put the same in execution, in respect of the troubles that occurred in the north, thou, knawing thyself guilty, and fearing to bide the trial of ane assize, fand the moyen [found the means] to purchase ane suspension of the said commission; and causit insert in the said suspension, not only thy awn name, and sic others as was specified in the said commission, but also certain others who were not spoken of . . . . whilk, gif thou had been ane honest woman, and willing to abide trial, thou wald never have causit suspension of ony sic commission, but wald rather hath fortherit the same.' In the same year, Robert Monro died, under what circumstances does not appear, leaving the succession to his brother Hector, who now appeared as nominal prosecutor of his step-mother.

In the circumstances under which the trial took place, the jury being a packed one of humble dependents on the Foulis family, a conviction was not to be expected. Lady Foulis was 'pronounced to be innocent and quit of the haill points of the dittay.' Her own son, George, having died in 1590, Hector Monro was, immediately after his step-mother's trial, placed in turn at the bar, charged by her with having brought about the said George's death by sorcery and witchcraft; but he likewise was acquitted.—*Pit.*

Dec. 26.—A series of extraordinary trials for witchcraft and other crimes commenced at this date.

One David Seton, dwelling in Tranent, suspected his servant-maid, Geilie Duncan, of a supernatural power of curing sickness, and, having subjected her to the torture of the pilnie-winks (a screw for the fingers), soon extorted from her, not only a confession that the devil had given her the power of a witch, but information inculpating a number of persons in the like criminality. Among these were John Fian (*alias* Cunningham), schoolmaster at Prestonpans; Agnes Sampson, a midwife at Keith; Barbara Napier, the wife of a citizen of Edinburgh; and Eupham M'Calyean, a lady of rank, daughter of a deceased judge of the Court of Session. The confessions of these persons, for the most part wrung from them by torture, form a strange jumble of possible and impossible, of horrible and ludicrous things.

Fian, who was a young man, confessed to some wicked arts which he had practised for obtaining the love of a young woman of his neighbourhood. There was nothing in them or their effects but what is easily reconcilable with natural fact, even to the striking of a rival with a sort of madness, under which, when brought into the king's chamber, where Fian was under examination, he fell a-bounding and capering with an energy which it required many persons to restrain, and this for an hour together, at the end of which he declared that he had been in a sound sleep. But Fian also admitted, though only under torture, his having had conferences with the devil; he had

attended various meetings of witches with the Enemy of Man, some of which took place in North Berwick kirk, and on these occasions he had acted as registrar or clerk of proceedings. He had also been one of a party of witches which went off from Prestonpans one night to a ship at sea, which they sunk by their incantations. He had chased a cat at Tranent, with

The Devil preaching to the Witches.

From a contemporary print.

the design of throwing it into the sea, in order to raise storms for the destruction of shipping; and in this chase it was alleged that he was borne above the ground, and had leaped a wall, the head of which he could not, but for witchcraft, have touched with his hand. Fian soon after contrived to escape from prison, but was retaken and brought back, when, being found to deny his former confession, the king expressed his belief that he

must have entered into a new compact with the Prince of Darkness. His person was searched for marks, but in vain; and he was then subjected to tortures of the direst kind, with a view to bringing him back to his confession. The nails of the poor wretch were torn away with pincers; needles were thrust up to the heads in his fingers, and his legs were crushed in the boots till 'the blood and marrow spouted forth.' He resisted all, and thus only impressed the king and others with the conviction that the devil had entered into his heart. He was then arraigned, condemned, and burned.

The trials of three of the women inculpated took place in the course of a few ensuing months—that of Agnes Sampson on the 27th of January 1591.

On Sampson's trial, some of the transactions first revealed in Fian's case came out in greater detail, particularly the night-meeting of the sorcerers of the district with their grisly master at North Berwick kirk. 'John Fian blew up the doors, and blew in the lichts, whilk were like meikle black candles sticking round about the pulpit. The devil start up himself in the pulpit, like ane meikle black man, and callit every man by his name, and every ane answerit: "Here, Master." Robert Grierson being namit, they ran all hirdy-girdy, and were angry; for it was promisit that he should be callit "Robert the Comptroller, *alias* Rob the Rower," for expreming of his name. The first thing he demandit was, "Gif they [had] keepit all promise and been guid servants?" and "What they had done since the last time they had convenit?" On his command, they openit up the graves, twa within and ane without the kirk, and took off the joints of their fingers, taes, and knees, and partit them amang them; and the said Agnes Sampson gat for her part ane winding-sheet and twa joints, whilk she tint negligently. The devil commandit them to keep the joints upon them, while [till] they were dry, and then to make ane powder of them, to do evil withal. Then he commandit them to keep his commandments, whilk were to do all the evil they could.' The devil then ordered them to perform an act of homage towards himself, which does not admit of description, but which may be

said to have been at least one degree more humiliating than the kissing of the papal great toe. In the account of the confessions, it is stated that he inveighed against the king, and, being asked why he had such a hatred to him, answered: 'By reason the king is the greatest enemy he hath in the world.' According to the dittay, the devil 'had on him ane gown and ane hat, whilk were baith black; and they that were assembled, part stood and part sat. John Fian was ever nearest the devil, at his left elbock; Graymeal keepit the door.'

Mrs Sampson was adjudged to be taken to the Castle-hill, and there strangled at a stake, and her body burned to ashes.

The year 1590 was marked by 'a plague amang the bestial.' —*Chron. Perth.*

Witch seated on the Moon.—From a Sculpture in Elgin Cathedral.

Reign of James the Sixth.

1591–1603.

IN this period we see a continuation of the struggles of the clergy for the independence of the kirk, and those of the king for a supremacy over it; the merciless measures for repressing the Catholic faith, and the desperate practices of the Catholics for relief; the weak rule of the king in all administrative matters; and the efforts of ambitious courtiers to gain an ascendency in his councils.

Towards the end of 1592, new troubles arose, in consequence of the discovery of a treasonable correspondence between the Catholic nobles Huntly, Errol, and Angus with the king of Spain. These chiefs, finding themselves harassed beyond endurance by the now triumphant Presbyterians, who would allow them no freedom for the exercise of their religion, resorted to the desperate step of seeking assistance from a foreign and a Catholic sovereign. Under the urgency of Elizabeth and the kirk, James proceeded with vigour against these nobles, whose force he easily dispelled, and whom he prosecuted to forfeiture, but without meaning to effect their entire destruction.

The general lawlessness of the country at this period and the frightful atrocities which were almost daily committed, make some appearance in the chronicle. A singular riot in Edinburgh in December 1596 led to a reaction in favour of the king against the ultra-zealous Presbyterians. James was enabled to acquire considerable influence in the church-courts, to obtain seats in parliament for certain ministers, as representing the ancient bishops, and to secure a peaceable restoration for the popish lords.

The most remarkable event was the mysterious Gowrie Conspiracy (August 5, 1600). The young Earl of Gowrie and his brother Alexander Ruthven, sons of the Gowrie who suffered in 1584,

appeared to have formed a plan to entrap the king, and by the possession of his person, to work out some project for placing themselves at the head of affairs. James was induced to visit their house at Perth by a tempting story about a man who knew of a concealed treasure. After dinner, he was conducted by Alexander Ruthven into a solitary room at the end of a long gallery and put into the hands of an armed man. At the same time a false alarm was given to his attendants that he had left the house and was riding homeward. While they were hurrying to their horses in the courtyard, the king had a struggle with Ruthven, who first attempted to bind, and then to poniard him. With great difficulty, and not without the exercise of considerable presence of mind, he succeeded in giving an alarm to his attendants; one of whom, named John Ramsay, rushed to his rescue, and slew the two brothers on the spot. Their bodies were dealt with as those of traitors on the same day (November 19) on which the king's second son, afterwards Charles I., was born.

1591.

During this age of general violence, the rights of women were, as a matter of course, little respected. Abductions, both under the impulse of passion and from motives of cupidity, were frequent. The young Duke of Lennox, the cousin and favourite of the king, had contracted a violent attachment to Lady Sophia Ruthven, one of the numerous children left by the unfortunate Earl of Gowrie at his death in 1584. By the order of the king, the young lady was placed in seclusion at Easter Wemyss in Fife. The duke, crossing the Firth (April 19), took the Lady Sophia out of the house where she lived, and 'carried her away on his awn horse all the night, and on the morn married the said gentlewoman, contrair the ordinance of the kirk; whereat the king was greatly commoved.'—*Jo. Hist.*

On the 6th of September 1594, Margaret Hay, a girl of only fourteen years, was forcibly taken from her mother's house at Shiplaw, Peeblesshire, by Thomas Hay, brother of Hay of Smithfield, John and Thomas Govan, brothers, and 'Willie Hay callit the Bastard.' She was rescued by Cockburn of

Skirling, who refused to give her up. The end of the matter does not appear.—*P. C. R.*

Birrel notes, under 14th August 1595, how Christian Johnston, a widow, was carried off from Edinburgh by Patrick Aikenhead. 'The town was put in ane great fray by the ringing of the common bell,' and 'the said Christian was followit and brought back.' On the 27th of November 1600, a number of persons were denounced and intercommuned for taking away the daughter of George Carkettle, burgess of Edinburgh, 'furth of his awn house of Monkrig, where she was for the time [living] with her mother in peaceable and quiet manner.' It afterwards appeared that the chief guilty party was Robert Hepburn of Alderston, in East Lothian.—*P. C. R.*

About two miles to the south-west of Edinburgh, on the slope of the Craiglockhart Hill, there is a mansion called Craig House, of the period of James VI., and which in that time belonged to a branch of the old family of Kincaid. On the 17th of December 1600, John Kincaid of Craig House, attended by a party of friends and servants, all 'bodin in feir of weir, with swords, secrets, and other weapons,' came to the village of Water of Leith, also closely adjacent to Edinburgh, and there attacked the house of Bailie John Johnston, 'where Isobel Hutcheon, widow, was in sober, quiet, and peaceable manner for the time, dreading nae evil, harm, injury, or pursuit of ony persons, but to have lived under God's peace and our sovereign lord's.' Kincaid 'violently and forcibly brak up the doors of the said dwelling-house, entered therein, and pat violent hands on the said Isobel's person, took her captive, reft, ravished and took her away with him to his place of Craig House; where he deteined her, while [till] his majesty being upon the fields, accompanied with John, Earl of Mar, Sir John Ramsay, and divers others, hearing of the committing of sic ane horrible fact, directed the said John, Earl of Mar, Sir John Ramsay, and divers others, his hieness' servants, to follow him, and relieve her furth of his hands. Wha having come to his place of Craig House, and requiring for her relief, he refusit to grant the same, while [till] they menaced to bring his majesty

about his said house and raise fire therein; and sae compellit him to relieve her.

Kincaid underwent trial for this outrage, January 13, 1601, and his doom was ordered by the king to be a fine of 2500 merks, payable 'to us and our treasurer'—'as also he sall deliver to us and our treasurer *his brown horse.*'—*Pit.*

Apr. 30.—'John Dickson, younger of Belchester, being apprehended, ta'en, and brought to Edinburgh, was put to the knawledge of ane assize for the slaughter of his awn natural father [in July 1588], and also for the lying for the said offence at the process of excommunication. [Being convicted, he was] brought to the scaffold, and at the cross broken on ane rack, [and] worried—where he lay all that night, and on the morn [was] carried to the gallows of the Burgh-moor, where the rack was set up, and the corpse laid thereupon.'—*Jo. Hist.*

The frightful cutaneous disease of leprosy prevailed in Scotland, as in most other European countries, from an early age. There was a hospital for the reception of its victims at Kingcase, near Ayr, believed to have existed from the reign of King Robert I. At Glasgow, such an establishment was planted by the Lady of Lochow, daughter of Robert, Duke of Albany, and in 1584 it had six inmates. There were a few other such refuges of hopeless misery throughout the land.

In a sheltered spot called Greenside, near the northern skirts of the Calton Hill, a small monastery of Carmelite Friars had had a brief existence before the Reformation. On its desolate site, a merchant-burgess of Edinburgh, John Robertson by name (whom we soon after find in the office of bailie), now erected a small house for the reception of lepers, led thereto, it is stated, by a sense of gratitude to God for a signal deliverance vouchsafed to him. The town-council concurred in his object, and undertook the oversight and direction of the establishment (Nov. 21). Five men afflicted with leprosy, and two women, the wives of two of these men, but not themselves lepers, were admitted, each

leper being allowed four shillings Scots money—equal to 4d. sterling—weekly, and also having a privilege of begging under certain restrictions. They were on no account to go about for alms, or to stir from the house at all, or to admit any visitor, under penalty of death, and, to show how earnest was the spirit of this rule, a gibbet was erected at the gable of the hospital, ready for the instant execution of any transgressor. From sunset to sunrise, their door was to be kept fast locked, under the same penalty. Each patient was to take his turn of sitting at the door 'with ane clapper,' to attract the attention of people passing between Edinburgh and Leith, and to beg from them for the general benefit. The rest were meanwhile to stay within doors. The two wives, Isobel Barear and Jonet Gatt, were to be allowed to go to market to purchase *victes* for the lepers and for themselves, but not to call anywhere else in the town, under penalty of death. A person was appointed to read prayers to the inmates each Sunday, and a weekly oversight was confided to the Masters of Trinity Hospital. The leper-house seems to have been extinct since the middle of the seventeenth century. Trinity Hospital has also disappeared, though its funds exist, and support a large body of pensioners.

1591–2.

Feb. 7.—The slaughter of the Bonny Earl of Moray at Dunnibrissle stands prominent amongst the tragic events of the time. Moray had connected himself with a number of gentlemen and heads of clans in the north, who had combined against the Earl of Huntly. In the latter part of 1590, there were in that district of Scotland musterings, marchings, and fightings, too obscure to make an appearance in general history, but enough to keep three counties in a state resembling civil war. Huntly, who acted as lord-lieutenant of the north, and thus had a colour of law on his side, pursued the Mackintoshes and Grants, who befriended the Earl of Moray, as rebels, both against himself, who was their feudal superior, and against the king. In a reconnoitring expedition which he made at Darnaway Castle, the Earl of Moray's house, one of his gentlemen was unfortunately killed by a musket-shot, discharged by a

servant from the battlements—an injury which the feelings of the day made it a virtue to revenge.

By the intervention of Lord Ochiltree, Moray came south to his house of Dunnibrissle, in Fife, with a view to a reconciliation with Huntly. The northern chief was also at court; but his thoughts were not turned on peace.

Mustering forty friends on horseback, he set out with them, as to a race at Leith; but, having thus lulled suspicion, he quickly turned away, and crossed the Forth at the Queensferry. At a late hour on a winter night, the Earl of Moray heard his lonely house surrounded by the hostile Gordons, and received a summons to surrender. He had no friend with him but one—Dunbar, sheriff of Moray—and a few servants; yet he determined to make resistance. The Gordons then gathered corn from the neighbouring farms, and piling it against the door, set it on fire. To pursue the quaint recitals of the day: 'The Earl of Moray, being within, wissed not whether to come out and be slain, or be burned quick; yet, after avisement, this Dunbar says to my lord of Moray: "I will go out at the gate before your lordship, and I am sure the people will charge on me, thinking me to be your lordship; sae, it being mirk under night, ye shall come out after me, and look if that ye can fend [provide] for yourself." In the meantime, this Dunbar came forth, and ran desperately amang the Earl of Huntly's folks, and they all ran upon him and presently slew him. During this broil with Dunbar, the Earl of Moray came running out at the gate of Dunnibrissle, which stands beside the sea, and there sat down amang the rocks. But, unfortunately, the said lord's knapscull tippet, whereon was a silk string, had taken fire, which betrayed him to his enemies in the darkness of the night, himself not knowing the same. They came down on him on a sudden, and there most cruelly, without mercy, murdered him.' —*Bir. Moy.*

Next morning, Edinburgh was full of mourning and lamentation for this sad event. That the victim was a Protestant and son-in-law of the Good Regent, while the Earl of Huntly was notedly the head of the popish party in Scotland, was chiefly

remembered by them. The sympathies of the king, on the other hand, were with Huntly; nor, had it been otherwise, would his majesty have found it an easy task to bring to justice a grandee who had recently come forth against the Protestant interest with ten thousand men at his back.

Feb. 9.—'. . . . the Earl of Moray's mother, accompanied with her friends, brought over her son's and the sheriff of Moray's dead corpse, in litters, to Leith, to be brought from thence to be buried in the aile of the Great Kirk of Edinburgh, in the Good Regent's tomb, and, as some report, to be made first a spectacle to the people at the cross of Edinburgh; but they were stayed by command from the king. Captain [John] Gordon [a brother of the Laird of Gicht] was left for dead at Dunnibrissle; his hat, his purse, his gold, his weapons were taken by one of his own company; his shanks [stockings] were pulled off. He was taken in by the Earl of Moray's mother, and cherished with meat, drink, and clothing. A rare example! She brought him over with her son's corpse to seek justice. The earl's mother caused draw her son's picture as he was demained, and presented it to the king in a fine *laine* cloth, with lamentations and earnest suit for justice. But little regard was had to the matter. Of the three bullets she found in the bowelling of the body of her son, she presented one to the king, another to . . . . , the third she reserved to herself, and said: "I sall not part with this till it be bestowed on him that hindereth justice."'[1]—*Cal.*

1592.

June (?).—'There came from Aberdeen a young woman called Helen Guthry, daughter to John Guthry, saddler, to admonish the king of his duty. She was so disquieted with the sins reigning in the country—swearing, filthy speaking, profanation of the Sabbath, &c.—that she could find no rest till she came to the king. She presented a letter to him when he was going to see his hounds. After he had read a little of it, he fell

[1] It will be found that the body of the Bonny Earl remained above ground for six years, probably with a view to keeping up the popular indignation against his murderers. (See under February 16, 1597–8.)

a-laughing that he could scarce stand on his feet, and swore so horribly that the woman could not spare to reprove him. He asked if she was a prophetess. She answered she was a poor simple servant of God, that prayed to make him a servant of God also; that was desirous vice should be punished, and specially murder, which was chiefly craved at his hands; that she could find no rest till she put him in mind of his duty. After the king and courtiers had stormed a while, she was sent to the queen, whom she found more courteous and humane. So great and many were the enormities in the country, through impunity and want of justice, that the minds of simple and poor young women were disquieted, as ye may see; but the king and court had deaf ears to the crying sins.'—*Cal.*

Dec. 25.—A few days before this date, the Earl of Mar was married at Alloa to Mary, the second daughter of the late Duke of Lennox, and sister of the Countess of Huntly. The king honoured the marriage with his presence, and spent his Christmas with the newly wedded pair. It is rather surprising to find Mar, who had always been on the ultra-Protestant side, allying himself to a daughter of the papist Lennox; but tradition informs us that the god of love had in this case overcome that of politics. There were also some natural obstructions, for the earl was a widower of five-and-thirty, while the bride was little more than a girl. The story is, that his lordship, finding the young lady scornful, became low-spirited to such a degree as to alarm his old school-fellow the king, for his life. Learning what was the matter, James told him in his characteristic familiar style: 'By ——, ye shanna die, Jock, for ony lass in a' the land!' He then used his influence as virtual guardian of the Lennox family, and soon brought about the match. From this pair have descended some of the most remarkable patriots, lawyers, statesmen, and divines to which our country has given birth.

1592–3.

Mr John Graham of Hallyards, a judge of the Court of Session, had an unfortunate litigation with Sir James Sandi-

lands, the Tutor of Calder, about some temple-lands which his wife had brought to him. There had been a deed forged in the case, and a notary hanged for it, and a collision between the Court of Session and the General Assembly as to jurisdiction, and now Sir James Sandilands had become incensed to a degree of fury against his opponent the judge.

Feb. 13.—Graham, being charged by the king, for peace' sake, to depart from Edinburgh, was passing down Leith Wynd in obedience to the order, attended by three or four score persons for his protection, when Sir James Sandilands, accompanied by his friend the Duke of Lennox and an armed company, followed hard at his heels. Graham, thinking he was about to be attacked, turned to make resistance. The duke sent to tell him that if he proceeded on his journey, no one would molest him; but the message proved of no use, in consequence of some stray shot from Graham's company. The party of Sandilands immediately made an attack; the other party hastily fled. Graham fell wounded on the street, and was carried into a neighbouring house. A French boy, page to Sir Alexander Stewart, one of Sandilands' friends, seeing his master slain, followed the hapless judge into the house, 'douped a whinger into him,' and so despatched him. Such was the characteristic termination of a lawsuit in 1593.—*Cal.*

It is highly worthy of remark, that, not many months after, Sir James Sandilands was once more peaceably living at court.

1593.

June 21.—George Smollett, burgess of Dumbarton (an ancestor of the novelist), was denounced rebel for not answering certain charges made against him by the burghs of Glasgow and Renfrew. It was alleged that Smollett, having purchased a letter of the king, used it as a sanction to deeds of violent oppression against the Highland people resorting with merchandise to those towns. 'He not only masterfully reives the goods and bestial, claithing, and other wares, brought by the inhabitants of the Isles and other parts of the Highlands, to the said burghs, by sea and land, but takes, apprehends, and imprisons their persons, and sometimes pursues themselves by way of

deid.' It was added that the people of the Highlands were, in consequence, inspired with a deadly hatred of the burghs of Glasgow and Renfrew, and were already committing such reprisals as threatened civil war.—*P. C. R.*

July 31.—Aberdeen, a commercial town with a university, bore a singular moral relation to the adjacent Highlands of the Dee, where a wild and lawless population, speaking a different language and using a different dress, existed. Many were the troubles of the industrious burghers from these rude neighbours, who would sometimes come sweeping down upon their borders like a flight of locusts, and leave nothing of value uneaten or undestroyed. At this time, we find the council of the northern city meeting to consider 'the barbarous cruelty lately exercit by the lawless hielandmen in Birse, Glentanner, and thereabout, not only in the unmerciful murdering of men and bairns, but in the masterful and violent spulying of all the bestial, guids, and gear of a great part of the inhabitants of these bounds . . . . committit near to this burgh, within twenty miles thereto;' for which reason it was ordained that the whole inhabitants should be ready with arms to meet for the defence of the town, and to resist and repress the said hielandmen, as occasion shall be offered.

1593–4.

The Edinburgh goldsmiths of this period, though only occupying a few small obscure shops stuck between the buttresses of St Giles's Church, comprehended in their number two or three persons of such considerable wealth as to verge upon an historic importance. Such, for example, was George Heriot, who in 1597 became goldsmith and jeweller to the king, and in time accumulated the fortune which enabled his executors to erect the magnificent hospital bearing his name. Another of the number was Thomas Foulis, who, when in spring 1593 the king had to march an army against the papist lords in the north, supplied a great part of the funds required for the purpose. What the Bank of England has often in modern times been to the British government, Thomas Foulis, the

Edinburgh goldsmith, was in those days to King James—a ready resource when money was urgently required for state purposes. On the 10th of September 1594, the royal debt to Thomas was no less than £14,598; and as a security so far for this sum the king consigned to him 'twa drinking pieces of gold, weighing in the haill fifteen pund and five unce,' which the consignee was to be at liberty to coin into 'five-pund pieces,' if the debt should not be otherwise paid before the 1st of November next, 'the superplus, gif oney beis,' to be forthcoming for his majesty's use. The value of the gold of these drinking-cups at the present day would be about £950, which shows that the debt in question was expressed in Scottish money. It may be remarked, that on the same day the king consigned another gold drinking-cup, weighing twelve pounds five ounces, in favour of John Arnott, burgess of Edinburgh, who had lent him £6000. It further appears that Thomas Foulis very soon after lent the king £12,000 more 'for outredding of sundry his hieness' affairs.'

In consideration of the loans he had had from Thomas Foulis, the king granted him (January 21, 1593-4) a lease of the gold, silver, and lead mines of Crawford Muir and Glengoner for twenty-one years. The Edinburgh tradesman probably had the sagacity to see in a little time that there was not in those districts a sufficiency of the more precious metals to pay the expense of collecting. We find, however, that in 1597 he was working the really valuable lead deposit of Lanarkshire, as there are acts of council in that year for the protection of his lead-carriers against 'broken men of the Borders.'

Feb. 19.—'. . . . between twa and three hours in the morning, the queen was delivered of ane young prince, within the castle of Stirling, in his majesty's chalmer there; whilk was a great comfort to the haill people, moving them till great triumph, wantonness, and play, for banefires were set out, and dancing and playing usit, in all parts, as gif the people had been daft for mirth.'—*Moy.*

The king had scarcely seen his wife out of the perils of child-

birth, when he was obliged to come to Edinburgh to take measures against the Earl of Bothwell, who was now breaking out into open rebellion. Fearing to live in Holyroodhouse, which had already been twice broken into by the turbulent lord, he took up his quarters in 'Robert Gourlay's lodging' within the city.

Mar. 13.—'. . . . being Sunday, his majesty came to Mr Robert Bruce's preaching, [who] said to his majesty, that God wald stir up mae Bothwells nor ane (that was, mae enemies to him nor Bothwell), if he revengit not his, and faucht not God's quarrels and battles on the papists, before he faucht or revenged his awn particular.'—*Bir.*

1594.

Apr. 3.—The king 'came to the sermon, and there, in presence of the haill people, promised to revenge God's cause and to banish all the papists; and there requested the haill people to gang with him against Bothwell, wha was in Leith for the time. The same day, the king's majesty rase, and the town of Edinburgh in arms. The Earl of Bothwell, hearing that his majesty was coming down, with the town of Edinburgh, rase with his five hundred horse, and rode up to the Hawk-hill, beside Lesterrick [Restalrig], and there stood till he saw the king and the town of Edinburgh approaching near him. He drew his company away through Duddingston. My Lord Home followed till the Woomet, at whilk place the Earl of Bothwell turned, thinking to have a hit at Home; but Home fled, and he followed; yet by chance little blood. The king's majesty stood himself, seeing the said chase' [at a safe distance, namely, on the Burgh-moor].—*Bir.*

Within a few days after this affair, the earl, seeing he could not effect his object, retired into England. Soon after, much to the scandal of the preachers, he joined the papist lords. All his plans, however, were frustrated; and early in the next year, he left Scotland, an utterly broken man, never again to give his royal cousin any trouble.

July.—Robert Logan of Restalrig is one of the darkest

characters of this bloody and turbulent time. A few years later, he was plotting with the Ruthvens of Gowrie for an assault upon the king. So early as February 1592-3, he was denounced for trafficking with the turbulent Bothwell. In June of this year, he was again denounced, and for a more serious matter—his sending out two servants, Jockie Houlden and Peter Craik, to rob travellers on the highway, near his house of Fast Castle in Berwickshire. They had attacked Robert Gray, burgess of Edinburgh, as he was passing the Boundrod, near Berwick, and taken from him nine hundred and fifty pounds, besides battering him to the peril of his life.—*P. C. R.* His residence, as is well known, was a fortalice perched on an almost inaccessible crag overhanging the waves of the sea, with black cliffs above, below, and nearly all round —perhaps the most romantically situated house in our ancient kingdom. Here, it is known, Logan had Bothwell for his occasional guest.

In July of this year, Logan entered into a contract with John Napier of Merchiston, proceeding upon the fact of 'diverse auld reports, motives, and appearances, that there should be within the said Robert's dwelling-place of Fast Castle a sowm of money and pose, hid and huirdit up secretly.' John Napier undertook that he 'sall do his utter and exact diligence to search and seek out, and be all craft and ingyne that he dow [can], to tempt, try, and find out the same, and, be the grace of God, either sall find out the same, or than mak sure that nae sic thing has been there.' For this he was to have a third of any money found. He was also to be convoyed back in safety to Edinburgh, unspoiled of his gains.

It is not known whether Napier did actually journey to the spray-beaten tower of Fast Castle and there practise his craft and ingyne. Probably he did, and was disappointed in more ways than one, as, two years after, he is found letting a portion of his property to a gentleman on the strict condition that no part of it shall be sublet to any one of the name of Logan.

'This year, in the Merse, there was a great business about

sorcery and the trial of witches, and many was there burnt, as, namely, one Roughhead, and Cuthbert Hume's mother of Dunse, the parson of Dunse's wife, and sundry of Eyemouth and Coldingham; near a dozen moe, and many fugitives, as the old Lady A. Sundry others were delated, and the Ladies of Butt: and Lady B.: the Laird of B.: his sister; one in Liddesdale by virtue of [a] superstitious well, whereat was professed great skill; one Dick's sister, who had her mother hanged before in Waughton. They confessed the death of the whole goods [live-stock] of the country.'—*Pa. And.*

1594-5.

Jan. 19.—A great *tulyie* or street-combat this day took place in Edinburgh.

The Earl of Montrose, head of the house of Graham, was of grave years—towards fifty: he was of such a character as to be chosen, a few years afterwards, chancellor of the kingdom: still later, he became for a time viceroy of Scotland, the king being then in England. Yet this astute noble was so entirely under the sway of the feelings of the age as to deem it necessary and proper that he should revenge the death of John Graham (see page 132) upon its author, under circumstances similar to those which attended that slaughter. On its being known that the earl was coming with his son and retinue to Edinburgh, Sandilands was strongly recommended by some of his friends to withdraw from the town, 'because the earl was then over great a party against him. His mind was, notwithstanding, sae undantonit, and unmindful of his former misdeed, finding himself not sae weel accompanied as he wald, he sent for friends, and convokit them to Edinburgh, upon plain purpose rather first to invade the said earl than to be invadit by him, and took the opportunity baith of time and place within Edinburgh, and made a furious onset on the earl [at the Salt Tron in the High Street], with guns and swords in great number.[1] The earl, with his eldest son, defendit manifully, till at last Sir James was dung [driven down] on his back, shot and hurt in divers parts of his body

1 Another writer represents the Master of Montrose as setting upon Sir James Sandilands.

and head, [and] straitly invadit to have been slain out of hand, gif he had not been fortunately succoured by the prowess of a gentleman callit Captain Lockhart. The lord chancellor and Montrose were together at that time; but neither reverence [n]or respect was had unto him at this conflict, the fury was sae great on either side; sae that the chancellor retirit himself with gladness to the College of Justice. The magistrates of the town, with fencible weapons, separatit the parties for that time; and the greatest skaith Sir James gat on his party, for he himself was left for dead, and a cousin-german of his, callit Crawford of Kerse, was slain, and mony hurt: but Sir James convalescit again, and this recompense he obteinit for his arrogancy. On the earl's side was but ane slain, and mony hurt.'—*H. K. J.*

Mar. 10.—Commenced 'ane horrible tempest of snaw, whilk lay upon the ground till the 14[th] of April thereafter.'—*Bir.*

1595.

Sep.—The violences of the age extended even to school-boys. The 'scholars and gentlemen's sons' of the High School of Edinburgh had at this time occasion to complain of some abridgment of their wonted period of vacation, and when they applied to the town-council for an extension of what they called their 'privilege,' only three days in addition to the restricted number of fourteen were granted. It appears that the master was favourable to their suit, but he was 'borne down and abused by the Council, who never understood well what privilege belonged to that charge. Some of the chief gentlemen's sons resolved to make a mutiny, and one day, the master being on necessary business a mile or two off the town, they came in the evening (Sep. 13) with all necessary provision, and entered the school, manned the same, took in with them some fencible weapons, with powder and bullet, and renforcit the doors, refusing to let [any] man come there, either master or magistrate, until their privilege were fairly granted.'—*Pa. And.*

A night passed over. Next morning, 'some men of the

town came to these scholars, desiring them to give over, and to come forth upon composition; affirming that they should intercede to obtein them the license of other eight days' playing. But the scholars replied that they were mocked of the first eight days' privilege . . . . they wald either have the residue of the days granted for their pastime, or else they wald not give over. This answer was consulted upon by the magistrates, and notified to the ministers; and the ministers gave their counsel that they should be letten alone, and some men should be depute to attend about the house to keep them from vivres, sae that they should be compelled to render by extremity of hunger.'—*H. K. J.*

A day having passed in this manner, the Council lost patience, and determined to use strong measures. Headed by Bailie John Macmoran, and attended by a posse of officers, they came to the school, which was a long, low building, standing on the site of the ancient Blackfriars' monastery. The bailie at first called on the boys in a peaceable manner to open the doors. They refused, and asked for their master, protesting they would acknowledge him at his return, but no other person. 'The bailies began to be angry, and called for a great jeist to prise up the back-door. The scholars bade them beware, and wished them to desist and leave off that violence, or else they vowed to God they should put a pair of bullets through the best of their cheeks. The bailies, believing they durst not shoot, continued still to prise the door, boasting with many threatening words. The scholars perceiving nothing but extremity, one Sinclair, the chancellor of Caithness' son, presented a gun from a window, direct opposite to the bailies' faces, boasting them and calling them *buttery carles*. Off goeth the charged gun. [The bullet] pierced John Macmoran through his head, and presently killed him, so that he fell backward straight to the ground without speech at all.'[1]

'When the scholars heard of this mischance, they were all moved to clamour, and gave over. Certain of them escaped,

[1] Patrick Anderson's History, MS. He adds: 'I was at the time by chance an eye-witness myself.'

and the rest were carried to prison by the magistrates in great fury, and escaped weel unslain at that instant. Upon the morn, the said Sinclair was brought to the bar, and was there accused of that slaughter; but he denied the same constantly. Divers

Bailie Macmoran's House.

honest friends convenit, and assisted him.' The relatives of Macmoran being rich, money-offers were of no avail in the case: life for life was what they sought for. 'Friends threatened death to all the people of Edinburgh (!) if they did the child

any harm, saying they were not wise that meddled with the scholars, especially the gentlemen's sons. They should have committed that charge to the master, who knew best the truest remedy without any harm at all.'

Lord Sinclair, as head of the family to which the young culprit belonged, now came forward in his behalf, and, by his intercession, the king wrote to the magistrates, desiring them to delay proceedings. Afterwards, the process was transferred to the Privy Council. Meanwhile, the other youths, seven in number, the chief of whom were a son of Murray of Spainyiedale and a son of Pringle of Whitebank, were kept in confinement for upwards of two months, while a debate took place between the magistrates and the friends of the culprits as to a fair assize; it being alleged that one composed of citizens would be partial against the boys. The king commanded that an assize of gentlemen should be chosen, and, in the end, they, as well as Sinclair, got clear off.

The culprit became Sir William Sinclair of Mey. He married Catherine Ross of Balnagowan, whom we have seen unpleasantly mixed up in the charges against Lady Foulis (see page 117).

'Macmoran,' says Calderwood, 'was the richest merchant in his time, but not gracious to the common people, because he carried victual to Spain, notwithstanding he was often admonished by the ministers to refrain.' His house, still standing in Riddell's Close in the Lawnmarket, Edinburgh, gives the idea that the style of living of a rich Scottish merchant of that day was far from being mean or despicable.[1]

Oct.—James, Lord Hay of Yester, at this time kept state in Neidpath Castle, with his wife. Their union was childless, his presumptive heir being his second-cousin, Hay of Smithfield, ancestor of the Hays of Haystoun and Kingsmeadows, Peeblesshire. In these circumstances, occasion was given for a curious series of proceedings, involving the fighting of a

[1] The room of Macmoran's house in which the Duke of Holstein, the queen's brother, was banqueted in 1598, is now used as the Mechanics' Library.

regular passage of arms on a neighbouring plain beside the Tweed.

Lord Yester had for his page one George Hepburn, brother of the parson of Oldhamstocks in East Lothian. His master-of-the-horse—for such officers were then retained in houses of this rank—was John Brown of Hartree. One day, Brown, in conversation with Hepburn, remarked: 'Your father had good knowledge of physic: I think you should have some also.' 'What mean ye by that?' said Hepburn. 'You might have great advantage by something,' answered Brown. On being further questioned, the latter stated that, seeing Lord Yester had no children, and Hay of Smithfield came next in the entail, it was only necessary to give the former a suitable dose in order to make the latter Lord Yester. 'If you,' continued Brown, 'could give him some poison, you should be nobly rewarded, you and yours.' 'Methinks that were no good physic,' quoth Hepburn drily, and soon after revealed the project to his lord. Brown, on being taxed with it, stood stoutly on his denial. Hepburn as strongly insisted that the proposal had been made to him. For such a case, there was no solution but the *duellium*.

Due authority being obtained, a regular and public combat was arranged to take place on Edston-haugh, near Neidpath. The two combatants were to fight in their doublets, mounted, with spears and swords. Some of the greatest men of the country took part in the affair, and honoured it with their presence. The Laird of Buccleuch appeared as judge for Brown; Hepburn had, on his part, the Laird of Cessford. The Lords Yester and Newbottle were amongst those officiating. When all was ready, the two combatants rode full tilt against each other with their spears, when Brown missed Hepburn, and was thrown from his horse with his adversary's weapon through his body. Having grazed his thigh in the charge, Hepburn did not immediately follow up his advantage, but suffered Brown to lie unharmed on the ground. 'Fie!' cried one of the judges; 'alight and take amends of thy enemy!' He then advanced on foot with his sword in his hand to Brown, and commanded him to confess the truth. 'Stay,' cried Brown,

'till I draw the broken spear out of my body.' This being done, Brown suddenly drew his sword and struck at Hepburn, who for some time was content to ward off his strokes, but at last dealt him a backward wipe across the face, when the wretched man, blinded with blood, fell to the ground. The judges then interfered to prevent him from being further punished by Hepburn; but he resolutely refused to make any confession.

About this time and for some time onward, Scotland underwent the pangs of a dearth of extraordinary severity, in consequence of the destruction of the crops by heavy rains in autumn. Birrel speaks of it as a famine, 'the like whereof was never heard tell of in any age before, nor ever read of since the world was made.' 'In this month of October and November,' he adds, 'the wheat and malt at £10 [Scots] the boll; in March thereafter, the ait meal £10 the boll, the humble corn £7 the boll. In the month of May, the ait meal £20 the boll in Galloway.'

1596.

Apr. 12.—Sir Walter Scott of Branxholm, Laird of Buccleuch, performed an exploit which has been celebrated both in prose and rhyme.

About the end of January, a 'day of truce' was held at a spot called Dayholm of Kershope in Liddesdale, by the deputies of the English warden, Lord Scrope, and the Laird of Buccleuch, keeper of Liddesdale. The Scotch deputy, Scott of Goldielands, had but a small party—not above twenty—among whom, however, was a noted Border reiver, William Armstrong of Kinmont, commonly known as *Kinmont Willie*. The English deputy was attended by several hundred followers. It happened that, before the end of the meeting, a report came to the English deputy of some outrages at that moment in the course of being committed by Scottish Borderers within the English line. He entered a complaint on the subject, and received assurance that the guilty parties should be as soon as possible rendered up to the vengeance of Lord Scrope.

The day of truce ended peaceably; but, as the English party was retiring along their side of the Liddel, they caught sight of the Scottish reivers, and gave chase. Kinmont Willie was now riding quietly along the Scottish side of the Liddel. Mistaking him for one of the guilty troop, the English pursued him for three or four miles, and taking him prisoner, bore him off to Carlisle Castle.

Probably the Liddesdale thief had incurred more guilt in England than ten lives would have expiated. Yet what was this to Buccleuch? To him the case was simply that of a retainer betrayed while on his master's business and assurance. If the affair had a public or national aspect, it was that of a Scottish subject maltreated, to the dishonour of his sovereign and country. Having in vain used remonstrances with Lord Scrope, both by himself and through the king's representations to the English ambassador, he resolved at last, as himself has expressed it, 'to attempt the simple recovery of the prisoner in sae *moderate ane fashion* as was possible to him.'

Buccleuch's moderate proceeding consisted in the assembling of two hundred armed and mounted retainers at the tower of Morton, an hour before sunset of the 12th of April. He had arranged that no head of any house should be of the number, but all younger brothers, that the consequences might be the less likely to damage his following; but, nevertheless, three lairds had insisted on taking part in the enterprise. Passing silently across the Border, they came to Carlisle about the middle of the night. A select party of eighty then made an attempt to scale the walls of the castle; but their ladders proving too short, it was found necessary to break in by force through a postern on the west side. Two dozen men having got in, six were left to guard the passage, while the remaining eighteen passed on to Willie's chamber, broke it up, and released the prisoner. All this was done without encountering any resistance except from a few watchmen, who were easily 'dung on their backs' (that is, thrown down). As a signal of their success, the party within the castle sounded their trumpet 'mightily.' Hearing this, Buccleuch raised a loud clamour

amongst his horsemen on the green. At the same time, the bell of the castle began to sound, a beacon-fire was kindled on the top of the house, the great bell of the cathedral was rung in correspondence, the watch-bell of the Moot-hall joined the throng of sounds, and, to crown all, the drum began to rattle through the streets of the city. 'The people were perturbit from their nocturnal sleep, then undigestit at that untimeous hour, with some cloudy weather and saft rain, whilk are noisome to the delicate persons of England, whaise bodies are given to quietness, rest, and delicate feeding, and consequently desirous of more sleep and repose in bed.' Amidst the uproar, 'the assaulters brought forth their countryman, and convoyit him to the court, where the Lord Scrope's chalmer has a prospect unto, to whom he cried with a loud voice a familiar guid-nicht! and another guid-nicht to his constable Mr Saughell.' The twenty-four men returned with Kinmont Willie to the main body, and the whole party retired without molestation, and re-entered Scotland with the morning light.

The matter was brought before the king in council (May 25) by the English ambassador, who pleaded that Sir Walter Scott should be given up to the queen for punishment. Buccleuch himself, with true heroism, treated the matter calmly and even reasoningly. The simple recovery of the prisoner, he said, 'maun necessarily be esteimit lawful, gif the taking and detaining of him be unlawful, as without all question it was.' Of course his own countrymen sympathised with him in a deed so gallant, and performed from such a motive, and the king could not readily act in a contrary strain. Elizabeth never obtained any satisfaction for the taking of Kinmont Willie.—*Spot. Moy. H. K. J. C. K. S. P. C. R. Bir.*[1]

Aug. 3.—One John Dickson, an Englishman, was tried for uttering slanderous speeches against the king, calling him 'ane bastard king,' and saying 'he was not worthy to be obeyed.' This it appeared he had done in a drunken anger, when asked

[1] For the ballad of *Kinmont Willie* and many particulars of the affair, see Sir Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.*

to veer his boat out of the way of the king's ordnance. He was adjudged to be hanged.—*Pit.* It is curious on this and some other occasions to find that, while the king got so little practical obedience, and the laws in general were so feebly enforced, such a severe penalty was inflicted on acts of mere disrespect towards majesty.

1596–7.

John Mure, of Auchindrain, in Ayrshire, was a gentleman of good means and connections, who acted at one time in a judicial capacity as bailie of Carrick, and gave general satisfaction by his judgments. He was son-in-law to the Laird of Bargeny, one of the three chief men of the all-powerful Ayrshire family of Kennedy. Sir Thomas Kennedy of Colzean, another of these great men, was on bad terms with Bargeny. Mure, who might naturally be expected to take his father-in-law's side, was for a time restrained by some practical benefits, in the shape of lands, offered him by Sir Thomas; but the titles to the lands not being ultimately made good, the Laird of Auchindrain conceived only the more furious hatred against the knight of Colzean. This happened about 1595, and it appears at the same time that Sir Thomas had excited a deadly rage in the bosom of the Earl of Cassillis's next brother, usually called the Master of Cassillis. The Master and Auchindrain, with another called the Laird of Dunduff, easily came to an understanding with each other, and agreed to slay Sir Thomas Kennedy the first opportunity. Such was the manner of conducting a quarrel about land-rights amongst gentlemen in Ayrshire in those days.

On the evening of the 1st of January, Sir Thomas Kennedy supped with Sir Thomas Nisbet in the house of the latter at Maybole. The Lairds of Auchindrain and Dunduff, with a few servants, lay in wait for him in the yard, and when he came forth to go to his own house to bed, they fired their pistols at him. 'He being safe of any hurt therewith, and perceiving them with their swords most cruelly to pursue his life . . . . was forced for his safety to fly; in which chase they did approach him so near, as he had undoubtedly been

overta'en and killed, if he had not adventured to run aside and cover himself with the ruins of ane decayed house; whilk, in respect of the darkness of the night, they did not perceive; but still followed to his lodging, and searched all the corners thereof, till the confluence of the people . . . . forced them to retire.'[1]

For this assault, Sir Thomas Kennedy pursued at law the Lairds of Auchindrain and Dunduff, and was so far successful that Dunduff had to retire into England, while 'Colzean gat the house of Auchindrain, and destroyit the . . . . plenishing, and wrackit all the garden. And also they made mony sets [snares] to have gotten [Auchindrain] himself; but God preservit him from their tyranny.'[2] Auchindrain, however, was forced 'to cover malice by show of repentance, and for satisfaction of his by-past offence, and *gage* of his future duty, to offer his eldest son in marriage to Sir Thomas Kennedy's dochter; whilk, by intercession of friends, [was] accepted.'[3]

We shall hear more of this feud hereafter.

Feb. 17.—Under a commission from the king, the provost and bailies of Aberdeen commenced a series of witch-trials of a remarkable kind. The first delinquent, Janet Wishart, spouse of John Lees, stabler—a woman considerably advanced in life—was accused of a great number of *malefices* perpetrated, during upwards of thirty years, against neighbours, chiefly under a spirit of petty revenge. In the greater number of cases, the victim was described as being seized with an ailment under which he passed through the extremes of heat and cold, and was afflicted with an insatiable drouth. In several cases the illness was said to have had a fatal conclusion. The poor woman appears to have been taken to the stake immediately after her trial. It appears that at this time twenty-two unfortunate men and women, chiefly the latter, suffered in Aberdeen and its neighbourhood.

[1] Letter of Sir Thomas Hamilton, king's advocate, Pitcairn, iii. 162.
[2] *History of the Kennedies*, 27. [3] Letter above cited.

Mar. 11.—The duellium seems to have been particularly in vogue at this time. 'There chanced a single combat betwixt James Hepburn of Moreham and one Birnie, a skinner in Edinburgh [at St Leonard's Craigs]. They were both slain [and buried the morning after]. The occasion and quarrel was not thought to be great nor yet necessary. Hepburn alleged and maintained that there was seven sacraments; Birnie would have but two, or else he would fight. The other was content with great protestations that he would defend his belief with the sword; and so, with great earnestness they yoked, and thus the question was decided.'—*P. And.*

There was a traditionary tale in Edinburgh, which Sir Walter Scott had heard in his youth, and which he narrated to the author of this work in 1824, to the effect that, a gentleman having been foully murdered by a man of formidable repute as a swordsman, his widow brought forward two sons in succession to challenge the murderer to mortal combat, and when these had fallen, did not scruple even to send a third, her youngest and favourite, to avenge the slaughter of the rest. The first two youths 'died like good men in their duty;' but the third slew the murderer. The last fight, said Sir Walter, took place on Cramond Island in the Firth of Forth, and since then there has been no such combat permitted. Apparently the basis of this story is as follows:

James Carmichael, second son of the Laird of Carmichael, had killed Stephen Bruntfield, captain of Tantallon, in a duel at St Leonard's Craigs, 22d December 1596. Adam Bruntfield, brother of the deceased, 'allegit that James Carmichael had slain his brother by treason, having promisit to meet him hand to hand, and had brought others with him to his slaughter, and therefore was a traitor. The other stood to his denial, and they baith seyit [tried] their moyen [influence] at his majesty's hands for ane license to fecht, whilk with great difficulty was granted by his grace.' They met (March 15) on Barnbougle Sands or Links, near Cramond Island, in the presence of a great multitude, and with the Duke of Lennox, the Laird of Buccleuch, Sir James Sandilands, and Lord Sinclair, to act as

judges. 'The one was clothed in blue taffeta, the other in red sattin.' Carmichael, who was 'as able a like man as was living,' seemed at first to have great advantage over Adam Bruntfield, who was 'but ane young man, and of mean stature;' and at the first encounter he struck Adam on the loin. To the surprise of all, however, Bruntfield 'strikes him in the craig [throat], and syne loups aboon him, and gives him sundry straiks with his dagger, and sae slays him. Adam Bruntfield is convoyit to Edinburgh with great triumph as ane victorious captain; and the other borne in deid.'—*Bir. Pa. And. C. K. Sc.*

1597.

June 6.—There was a proclamation 'that no man take upon hand to give out money any dearer nor ten for the hundred [ten per cent. interest], or victual according thereto, under the pain of confiscation of their goods, and punishing of their bodies as usurers.'—*Bir.*

The Lanarkshire lead-mines, under the care of Thomas Foulis, goldsmith in Edinburgh, and Bewis Bulmer, an Englishman, whom Thomas had assumed as partner, were now beginning to be a source of profit. The lead was transported on the backs of horses to sundry parts of the realm, but the greater part of it to Leith, where it was disposed of for exportation. Just, however, as all the mining difficulties had been overcome, the enterprisers found troubles of a different kind. The broken men of the Borders had heard of this valuable metal passing along the uplands of Clydesdale, and it seemed to them not too hazardous an adventure to cross the hills and make a dash at such a booty. We therefore now hear (June 14) of the carriers of the lead, servants of Thomas Foulis, being occasionally beset on their way, and robbed by the Borderers of 'horses, armour, clothing, and their haill carriage.'

July 23.—'Between eight and nine in the morning, there was an earthquake which made all the north parts of Scotland to tremble; Kintail, Ross, Cromarty, Mar, Breadalbane, &c. A

man in St Johnston [Perth] laying compts with his compters, the compts lap off the buird; the man's thighs trembled; one leg went up, and another down.'—*Cal.*

This earthquake happening at the time when King James 'interrupted Mr Robert Wallace and undid the ministry of St Andrews,' James Melville likens it to that which God sent to punish Uzziah, king of Judah, for usurping the priestly office.

Aug. 6.—'The pest began in Leith' (*Bir.*), and soon 'infected sundry parts about Edinburgh, so that many fled out of the town.'—*Cal.* It raged during this year in England, 17,890 persons being carried off in London alone. A fast was held in Edinburgh on account of this visit of the pestilence, from the 7th of August till the end of harvest, when it ceased. Notwithstanding the scarcity of food from October 1595 down almost to this time, the mortality in Scotland does not appear to have been great—a result probably owing in the main part to the abundant harvest of the present year.

Dec. 7.—A homicide committed at this time brings out a remarkable illustration of the exclusive rule of master over man which then prevailed. On the first day of the sitting of parliament, Archibald Jardine, servitor and master-stabler to the Earl of Angus, was slain negligently by Andrew Stalker, goldsmith, at Niddry's Wynd head. 'The said Andrew was apprehendit and put in prison. The young men of the town being all in arms, as they used to be in the time of the parliament, they came to his majesty, and desirit grace for the young man wha had done ane reckless deed. *The king's majesty desirit them to go to my Lord of Angus, the man's master, and satisfy and pacify his wrath, and he should be contentit to grant his life.* James Williamson, being captain to the young men, came to my Lord of Angus, offered him their manreid [bond of mutual support] to be ready to serve him gif he had to do: upon the whilk, he grantit them his life, and sae the said Andrew was releasit out of prison upon the said day at even.'—*Bir.*

1597-8.

Feb. 8.—The impunity of numberless murders and other atrocious crimes in this reign is not more remarkable than the severity occasionally exhibited in comparatively trifling cases. For making a false writ in a matter of three hundred merks, five citizens of Edinburgh were condemned to death. Such, likewise, was the issue of the trial of John Moscrop, writer in Edinburgh, for giving himself out as a notary and subscribing divers papers as such, he not being one. The six men appear to have all been tried on one day, and the end of the affair is chronicled by Birrel: 'John Windieyetts, John Moscrop, Alexander Lowrie, John Halliday, and Captain James Lowrie [were] all hangit at the cross of Edinburgh for counterfeiting false writs; whilk was great pity to see.'

Feb. 16.—It was now six years since the tragic death of the Earl of Moray, and yet his corpse lay unburied. So also did that of Lord Maxwell, killed in a conflict with the Johnstons in December 1593.

Stigmatising this as an abuse that 'of late has croppin in,' and in order to prevent the example from being followed, the king and Council issued an order to the respective relatives of the two noblemen that they have the bodies buried in their ordinary places of sepulture within twenty days, under pain of rebellion.—*P. C. R.*

Feb. 25.—On this day, being Saturday, occurred an eclipse of the sun, total at Edinburgh, and probably so throughout the country generally. No event entirely similar had occurred within the memory of living people in Scotland, and the impression which it was naturally calculated to produce in an age when such things were regarded as prodigies, was aggravated by the critical state in which the favourite Presbyterian institutions were then believed to be placed. Men regarded it as the omen of a dark period for the Kirk of Scotland.[1]

[1] '. . . . that fearful eclipse of the sun which continued the space of two hours, so fearful that that Saturday is yet called by the people the BLACK SATURDAY; a prognostic, as the times give occasion to interpret, of that darkness which was to fall upon the kirk.'—*Scot's Narration.*

'Betwixt nine and ten forenoon,' says Calderwood, 'began a fearful eclipse, which continued about two hours. The whole face of the sun seemed to be covered and darkened about half a quarter of an hour, in such measure that none could see to read a book. The stars appeared in the firmament. Sea, land, and air was still, and stricken dead as it were. The ravens and fowls flocking together mourned exceedingly in their kind. Great multitudes of paddocks [frogs] ran together, making an uncouth and hideous noise; men and women were astonished, as if the day of judgment had been coming. Some women swooned. The streets of Edinburgh were full of cries. Some men ran off the streets to the kirk to pray.'

'In the session-house or college of justice, no letter nor book could be read nor looked upon for the space of an hour for darkness, and yet in the north-east there appeared two stars. After this, the space of eight days fair weather [which] ensued was admirable. But the day after, yea Friday and Saturday, there fell out the greatest rain that might be, in such a manner that neither plough nor harrow could gang a long time after.'—*Pa. And.*

'I knew,' says James Melville, 'out of ephemeridis and almanack, the day and hour of it . . . . also, by natural philosophy, the causes. I set myself to mark the proceedings of it in a basin of water mixed with ink, thinking the matter but common. But yet, when it came to the extremity of darkness, and I myself losit all the sun, I was strucken with such fear and astonishment, that I had no refuge but to prostrate [myself] on my knees, and commend myself to God, and cry for mercy.'

'The like fearful darkness was never seen in this land, so far as we can read in our histories, or understand from tradition. The wise and godliest thought it very prodigious, so that from pulpit and by writ, admonitions were given to the ministers, that the changeable and glittering show of the world go not in betwixt them and Christ, the Sun of Righteousness, and remove the clear light of the gospel from the kirk.'—*Cal.*

A Presbyterian diarist is careful to tell us the 'notable *effects*

of this eclipse' in the year following; namely, the death of those famous 'lights of the Kirk of Scotland, Mr Thomas Buchanan, Mr Robert Rollock, David Ferguson, &c.'—*Ja. Mel.*

1598.

Apr.—Fynes Moryson, gentleman, who had travelled in most of the countries of Europe, being at Berwick, felt an earnest desire, before returning southwards, to see the king of Scots' court. He therefore entered Scotland, and in one day rode to Edinburgh; after which he proceeded to Falkland, and designed to visit St Andrews and Stirling, but was prevented by unexpected business, which recalled him to England. He tells us little that is remarkable about the localities he visited, but makes some general observations regarding travelling in Scotland, which are not devoid of interest.

'In Scotland,' he says in his *Itinerary* (folio, 1617), 'a horse may be hired for two shillings the first day, and eightpence the day till he be brought home; and the horse-letters used to send a footman to bring back the horse. They have no such inns as be in England; but in all places some houses are known where passengers may have meat and lodging; but they have no bushes or signs hung out, and for the horses, they are commonly set up in stables in some out-lane, not in the same house where the passenger lies. And if any man be acquainted with a townsman, he will go freely to his house, for most of them will entertain a stranger for his money. A horseman shall pay for oats and straw (for hay is rare in those parts) some eightpence day and night; and he shall pay no less in summer for grass, whereof they have no great store. Himself at a common table shall pay about sixpence for his supper or dinner, and shall have his bed free; and if he will eat alone in his chamber, he may have meat at a reasonable rate. Some twenty or thirty years ago, the first use of coaches came into Scotland; yea, were they rare even at Edinburgh. At this day, since the kingdoms of England and Scotland were united, many Scots have been promoted by the king's favour both in dignity and estate, and the use of coaches became more frequent, yet nothing so common as in England. But the use of horse-

litters hath been very ancient in Scotland, as in England, for sickly men and women of quality.'

He tells that the Scotch eat much colewort and cabbage, and little fresh meat. 'Myself,' he says, 'was at a knight's house, who had many servants to attend him, that brought in his meat with their heads covered with blue caps, the table being more than half furnished with great platters of porridge, each having a little piece of sodden meat. And when the table was served, the servants did sit down with us; but the upper mess [those sitting above the salt-vat], instead of porridge, had a pullet with some prunes in the broth. And I observed no art of cookery or furniture of household stuff, but rather rude neglect of both, though myself and companion, sent from the governor of Berwick about Border affairs, were entertained after their best manner. . . . They vulgarly eat hearth-cakes of oats [girdles for toasting the cakes over a fire were subsequently invented at Culross], but in cities have also wheaten bread, which for the most part was bought by courtiers, gentlemen, and the best sort of citizens. . . . They drink pure wines, not with sugar, as the English; yet at feasts they put comfits in the wine, after the French manner; but they had not our vintners' fraud, to mix the wines. . . .

'Their bedsteads were then like cupboards in the wall, with doors to be opened and shut at pleasure; so we climbed up to our beds. They used but one sheet, open at the sides and top, but close at the feet, and so doubled [still practised, and a comfortable custom it is]. . . . When passengers go to bed, their custom was to present them with a sleeping-cup of wine at parting.'

'The husbandmen, the servants, and almost all in the country did wear coarse cloth made at home, of gray or sky colour [hodden gray], and flat blue caps very broad. The merchants in cities were attired in English or French cloth, of pale colour or mingled black and blue. The gentlemen did wear English cloth, or silk, or light stuffs, little or nothing adorned with silk lace, much less with lace of silver or gold, and all followed at this time the French fashion, especially in

court. Gentlewomen married did wear close upper bodies after the German manner, with large whalebone sleeves after the French manner, short cloaks like the Germans, French hoods, and large falling bands round their necks. The unmarried of all sorts did go bareheaded, and wear short cloaks, with most close linen sleeves on their arms, like the virgins of Germany. The inferior sort of citizens' wives, and the women of the country, did wear cloaks made of a coarse stuff, of two or three colours in chequer-work, vulgarly called *plodan*.'

July 10.—'. . . ane man, some callit him a juggler, playit sic supple tricks upon ane tow [rope], whilk was fastenit betwixt the top of St Giles's Kirk steeple and ane stair beneath the Cross, callit Josia's Close head, the like was never seen in this country, as he rade down the tow and playit sae mony pavies on it.'—*Bir.*

Practitioners of such dangerous arts were not uncommon in those days. The death, in Edinburgh, of one Kirkaldy, 'who had before danced at the cock of the steeple [St Giles's],' is noted in the history of the civil broils of 1571.

It appears that these diverting vagabonds were well rewarded. The juggler of 1598, called an 'English sporter,' had twenty pounds from the king for the steeple-trick. Two months after, six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence was ordered to 'David Weir, sporter,' supposed to be the same person.

'This year the wheat was blasted.'—*Chron. Perth.* 'The ait meal sold for 6*s.* the peck.'—*Bir.* There was, consequently, towards the end of the year, 'ane extraordinar dearth of all kinds of *pultrie and other vivres*' throughout the realm.

Dec.—The Privy Council Record at this date gives an anecdote which reads like a tale of patriarchal times—the time when Jacob told his sons to go down into Egypt and buy corn, 'that we may live, and not die.'

On some recent occasion of pestilence, Dumfries, being specially and severely afflicted, was, as usual, sequestered from

all intercourse and traffic—its markets became altogether decayed, and the inhabitants, in addition to all their other distresses, found themselves 'evil handlit for want of necessar sustentation.' In these circumstances, it seemed good to them to send two of their number, unsuspected of infection, to the country about the Water of Cree in Galloway, to purchase cattle. The two men, James Sharpe and John Mertine, set forth on this quest, and, coming to the burgh of Wigtown, were there well received by the magistrates, who seemed willing to give them Christian help and countenance for their object, on the condition that the cattle were paid for and the burgh of Wigtown satisfied in their customs. Thus sanctioned, the Dumfries emissaries went into the country and bought thirty-eight nolt [oxen], which they began to drive towards Dumfries, looking for no interruption. At Monygaff on the Water of Cree, they were met by a large armed party under the command of Patrick Ahannay, provost of Wigtown, and John Edgar and Archibald Tailfer, bailies, who laid violent hands upon them, and carried them and their cattle to Wigtown. We do not learn what was the motive of this conduct, but may reasonably surmise it was some claim in the way of custom which the Dumfriessians had failed to satisfy. At Wigtown the cattle were detained eight days, getting gradually leaner for want of food, till at last they were 'extreme lean;' and it was not till their owners had paid a hundred merks that they were allowed to proceed with the beeves to the starving burgh of Dumfries.

This pitiable affair, which reads so strangely of Dumfries, now the scene of magnificent markets for the transfer of cattle, came under the notice of the Privy Council, and was remitted to the ordinary judges to be settled by them as they might think best.

1599.

Dec. 17.—Till this time, the new year legally held in Scotland was that pitched upon in the sixth century by Dionysius Exiguus when he introduced the Christian era—the 25th of March, or day of the Annunciation. King James, probably

looking upon the approaching year 1600 as the beginning of a new century, thought it would be a good occasion for bringing Scotland into a conformity with other countries in respect of New-year's Day. There was therefore passed this day at Holyrood an act of Privy Council, in which it is set forth that 'in all other weel-governit commonwealths and countries, the year begins yearly upon the first of January, commonly called New-year's Day, and that this realm only is different frae all others in the count and reckoning of the years;' for which reason they ordained that, in all time coming, Scotland shall conform to this usage, and that the next first of January shall be the first day of the year of God 1600.

During this year 'there were divers incursions in the Highlands and Borders, and sundry slaughters committed in divers parts of the country. Five sundry men were slain in one week within two miles of Edinburgh.'—*Cal.*

Circa 1599.—M'Alexander of Drumachryne in Ayrshire had a lease of the teinds of his estate from the Laird of Girvanmains, who in his turn was head tenant of these teinds from the Earl of Cassillis. 'But this Drumachryne, being ane proud man, wald now be tenant to my lord himself, and his man. [That is, he preferred being *man* or vassal to the earl.] The Laird of Girvanmains came to my lord, and said his lordship "had [done him wrang] in setting of his teinds to his awn man ower his head; and for ony gains he sall reap by that deed, the same sall be but small." My lord answerit and said: "Ye dar not find fault with him; for an ye do, we knaw whare ye dwell." The other said: "An he bide by that deed, he should repent the same, do for him wha likit!" My lord said: "Ye dar not steir him for your craig [neck]!" and bade him gang to his yett [gate]. The Laird of Girvanmains rides his ways, and thinking that the Laird of Drumachryne wald come after him, he stayit, and his twa servants with him, on a muir called Craigdow, behind ane knowe [knoll], while that he saw him coming; his brother, the Laird of Corseclays, being with him, and Oliver Kennedy of . . . .; but they strake never ane strake in his

defence. Girvanmains pursues him, and his twa men with him, callit Gilbert M'Fiddes and William M'Fiddes, ane boy, wha was the spy. They come to them on horseback, and strake him on the head with swords, and slew him. My lord was very far offendit at this deed, and avowit to have ane mends thereof, and causit denounce Girvanmains to the horn; and did all he could to have his life and wrack him in his geir.'—*Hist. Ken.*

1600.

Feb.—At this time arrived in Edinburgh the young Earl of Gowrie and his brother Alexander Ruthven, from Padua, where they had been studying for some years. To all appearance, they were disposed to be peaceable subjects of the king, notwithstanding the hard measure which had been dealt out to their father sixteen years before. When, some months afterwards, they came to so tragical an end, a circumstance which occurred not long after their arrival in Edinburgh, was remembered, as betraying a state of mind different from what appeared on the surface of their general behaviour.

A certain Colonel Stuart of Houston, who, as commander of the royal guard, had been employed in seizing the late unfortunate Earl of Gowrie, was still employed at court. One day in June, as the young earl, accompanied with seven or eight of his servants, was passing through the long gallery of Holyrood, on his way to the king's chamber, he observed Colonel Stuart come forth from an interview with his royal master. To avoid a too close meeting with one so painfully associated with his family history, he stepped aside a little, in order to let Stuart pass by. 'The same being espied by ane of the said earl's servants, going in the rank before him, callit Mr Thomas Kinrosser, [he] said ardently till him: "What, my lord, are you going back for ony man here? Come forward, my lord, bauldly!" Whilk going aside and then coming forward again being seen by Colonel Stuart, he went in again to the king.

"Sir, it will please your majesty hear ane strange matter, that, for guid service done to your grace, I sould be so evil rewardit as I am. Here comes in the Earl of Gowrie, and I

see he minds to begin first at me; but beware next of the best of you all."

'Herewith the said earl enterit in his majesty's chalmer, and the colonel went out thereof; but there was nothing of that purpose spoken betwixt his majesty and the earl at that time. But, the colonel's words to the king being reported to the earl, he answered: "*Aquila non captat muscas.*"'—*Jo. Hist.*

Mar. 14.—The king, returning from a General Assembly in Edinburgh to his palace of Falkland, crossed the Firth of Forth by the ferry between Leith and Kirkcaldy. The weather was fair at starting, but became foul on the passage, and the mariners were obliged to run their boat upon the sands at Kirkcaldy, where the king was taken out on horseback. 'He exclaimed with execration, that he was ever in danger of his life in going to those assemblies.'—*Cal.*

Apr. 2.—'. . . . being the Sabbath-day, Robert Auchmuty, barber, slew James Wauchope at the combat in St Leonard's Hill, and upon the 23d, the said Robert [was] put in ward in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. In the meantime of his being in ward, he hang ane cloak without the window of the iron house, and another within the window there, and, saying that he was sick, and might not see the light, he had aquafortis continually seething at the iron window, while [till] at the last the iron window was eaten through. Sae, upon a morning, he causit his prentice-boy attend when the town-guard should have dissolvit, at whilk time the boy waited on, and gave his master ane token that the said guard were gone, by the show or wave of his handcurch. The said Robert hung out ane tow whereon he thought to have come down. The said guard spied the wave of the handcurch, and sae the said Robert was disappointit of his intention and device; and sae, on the 10 day, he was beheadit at the cross, upon ane scaffold.'—*Bir.*

July 2.—John Kincaid of Warriston, near Edinburgh, was married to a handsome young woman, named Jean Livingstone,

daughter to a man of fortune and influence, the Laird of Dunipace. Owing to alleged maltreatment, the young wife conceived a deadly hatred of her husband. A base-minded nurse was near to whisper means and ways of revenge, and the lady was induced to tamper with a young man named Robert Weir, a servant of her father, to become the instrument. At an early hour in the morning above noted, Weir came to Warriston, and being admitted by the lady into the gentleman's chamber, there fell upon him with his fists, and soon accomplished his death. While Weir fled, the lady remained at home, along with the nurse. Both were immediately seized, subjected to a summary kind of trial before the magistrates, and condemned to death.

In the brief interval between the sentence and execution, this unfortunate young creature—she was only twenty-one—was brought, by the discourse of an amiable clergyman, from a state of callous indifference to one of lively sensibility and religious resignation. Her case was reported in a small pamphlet of the day. She stated that, on Weir assaulting her husband, she went to the hall and waited till the deed was done. She thought she still heard the pitiful cries uttered by her husband while struggling with his murderer. Afterwards, by way of dissembling, she tried to weep; but not a tear could she shed. She could only regard her approaching death as a just expiation of her offence. Her relations, feeling shamed by her guilt and its consequences, made interest to obtain that her execution should be as little public as possible, and it was accordingly arranged that, while the nurse was being burnt on the Castlehill at four in the morning, and thus attracting the attention of any who might be out of their beds, the lady should be conducted to the Girth Cross, at the opposite extremity of the city, and there despatched by the Maiden.

According to the contemporary pamphlet: 'The whole way, as she went to the place of execution, she behaved herself so cheerfully as if she had been going to her wedding, and not to her death. When she came to the scaffold, and was carried up upon it, she looked up to the Maiden with two longsome looks,

for she had never seen it before. This I may say of her, to which all that saw her will bear record, that her only countenance moved [her countenance alone would have excited emotion], although she had not spoken a word. For there appeared such majesty in her countenance and visage, and such a heavenly carriage in her gesture, that many said: "That woman is ravished with a higher spirit than man or woman's!"' After reading a short address to the multitude at the four corners of the scaffold, she calmly resigned herself to her fate, uttering expressions of devotion till the descent of the axe cut short her speech.

Weir, being taken four years after, was broken on the wheel (June 26, 1604); a severe death, scarcely ever before inflicted in Scotland.—*Pit. Bir.*

July 21.—In Edinburgh, this day, 'at nine hours at even, a combat or *tulyie* [was fought] between twa brether of the Dempsters, and ane of them slain by John Wilson. [He] being tane with het bluid, was execute at the flesh-stocks, where he had slain the man the night before.'—*Bir.*

July.—The calamities of dearth, want, and a high mortality continued this year to press upon the people in almost all parts of the country. 'A sheaf of oat-straw was sold for forty shillings in Edinburgh. There was also a great death of little children; six or seven buried [in Edinburgh] in a day.'—*Cal.*

'The year of God 1600, fourteen whales, of huge bigness, were casten in by the sea upon the sands under the town of Dornoch in Sutherland. They came in alive, and were slain immediately by the inhabitants, who reaped some commodity thereby. Some of these fishes were ninety feet in length.'—*G. H. S.*

Aug. 5.—In the midst of a time unmarked by great events, great excitement was caused by the attempt of the Earl of Gowrie and his brother upon the king's liberty or life, at Perth.

James Melville notes that 'a little before or hard about the day of this accident, the sea at an instant, about low-water, debordit and ran up aboon the sea-mark, higher nor at any stream-tide, athort all the coast-side of Fife, and at an instant reteired again to almaist low-water, to the great admiration of all, and skaith done to some.'

Aug. 6.—While Mr Robert Bruce and some others of the clergy professed to regard the conspiracy with incredulity, the great bulk of the people, going with their loyalty, as often happens, far beyond the merit of its object, manifested all tokens of extreme satisfaction at the king's escape. On the arrival of the news, 'there was sic joy, that the cannons shot, the bells rang, the trumpets sounded, the drums strake. The town rase in arms, with shooting of muskets, casting of fireworks, and banefires set forth; the like was never seen in Scotland, there was sic merriness and dancing all the nicht.'—*Bir.*

The same day, the state officers, with some other nobles, went to the cross, 'and there heard Mr David Lindsay make ane orison, and the haill people sat down on their knees, giving thanks to God for the king's deliverance out of sic ane great danger.'—*Bir.*

Dec. 23.—The baptism of the young prince, subsequently Charles I., took place this day at Holyroodhouse. The manner in which the king obtained the means of holding any such ceremonial is illustrated by the following letter (printed *literatim*), which he addressed on the occasion to the Laird of Dundas:

'Richt traist friend, we greet you heartily well. The baptism of our dearest son being appointit at Halyrudhouse upon the xxiii day of Decem^r instant, wherat some princes of France, strangers, with the specialis of our nobility, being invyted to be present, necessar it is that great provisions, gude cheir, and sic uther things necessary for decorations thairof be providit, whilks cannot be had without the help of sum of our loving subjects, quhairof accounting you one of the specialis, we have thought good to request you effectuously to propyne with

vennysons, wyld meit, Brissel fowlis, caponis, with sic other provisions as are maist seasonable at that time and errand. To be sent into Halyrudhouse upon the 22 day of the said moneth of December instant, and herewithall to invyte you to be present at that solemnitie, to take part of your awin gude cheir, as you tender our honour, and the honour of the country; swa we committ you to God. From Lithgow, this 6th of Decem^r 1600—JAMES R.'

1601.

Feb.—Among the violences of the age, what would now be called agrarian outrages were very common. Sometimes it was a pretender to proprietorship who came in to trouble the tenants of the landlord in possession; sometimes a tenant was the object of wrathful jealousy among persons of his own class. Of the former order of troubles we have an example at this time in a charge brought before the Privy Council (February 19, 1601) against David Hamilton, younger, of Bothwell-haugh, 'servant to the Laird of Innerwick.' It was for the turning out of his wife from Woodhouselee that Hamilton of Bothwell-haugh murdered the Good Regent. His descendants were repossessed in the estate, and we now see his present representative breaking other laws on account of the same lands. Sir James Bellenden of Broughton, who was landlord *de facto*, complains against David Hamilton, that, with a company 'bodin and furnist in feir of weir,' he had come, on the 10th of February instant, to the tenants of the lands of Woodhouselee, 'where they were in peaceable and quiet maner at their plews,' and there assailed them with furious speeches, 'threatening to have their lives gif they insistit in manuring and lawboring of the said lands,' and actually compelled them through fear to give up their work. As David failed to appear and answer this charge, letters were ordered to denounce him as a rebel.

April 17.—John Watt, Deacon of the deacons in Edinburgh, or he would have latterly been called Convener of the Trades, was shot dead on the Burgh-moor. This was the official who raised the trades for the protection of the king at

the celebrated tumult of the 17th December 1596. One Alexander Slummon, a bystander, was tried for the murder, but found innocent.

April 27.—'. . . . Archibald Cornwall, town-officer, hangit at the cross, and hung on the gibbet twenty-four hours; and the cause wherefore he was hangit—He being an unmerciful greedy creature, he poindit ane honest man's house, and among the rest, he poindit the king and queen's pictures; and when he came to the cross to comprise the same, he hung them up upon twa nails on the same gallows to be comprisit; and they being seen, word gaed to the king and queen, whereupon he was apprehendit and hangit.'—*Bir.*

Cornwall sustained a regular trial before a jury, eight of whom were tailors. The dittay bears that 'in treasonable contempt and disdain of his majesty, he stood up upon ane furm or buird beside the gibbet, and called [drove] ane nail therein as heich as he could reach it, and lifted up his hieness' portraitor foresaid and held the same upon the gibbet, pressing to have hung the same thereon, and to have left it there, as an ignominious spectacle to the haill world, gif he had not been stayed by the just indignation of the haill people, menacing to stane him dead, and pulling him perforce frae the gibbet.'

The punishment goes so monstrously beyond the apparent offence, that one is led to suspect something which does not appear. The gibbet on which the portrait had been hung was, as something rendered horrible by that profanity, 'taken down and burnt with fire.'

June.—An effort was made at this time by the burghs to introduce a cloth-manufacture into Scotland. Seven Flemings were engaged to settle in the country, in order to set the work agoing, six of them being for says,[1] and the seventh for broadcloth. When the men came, expecting to be immediately set to work in Edinburgh, a delay arose while it was debated whether they should not be dispersed among the principal

[1] *Say* or *serge*, a thin woollen cloth.

towns, in order to diffuse their instructions as widely as possible. We find the strangers on the 28th of July complaining to the Privy Council that they were neither entertained nor set to work, and that it was proposed to sunder them, 'whilk wald be a grit hinder to the perfection of the wark.'

The Council decreed that 'the haill strangers brought hame for this errand sall be halden together within the burgh of Edinburgh, and put to work conform to the conditions past betwix the said strangers and the commissioners wha dealt with them.' Meanwhile, till they should begin their work, the Council ordained 'the bailies of Edinburgh to entertene them in meat and drink,' though this should be paid back to them by the other burghs, and the strangers were at the same time to be allowed to undertake any other work for their own benefit.—*P. C. R.*

On the 11th of September, the burghs had done nothing to 'effectuat the claith working,' and the Council declared that unless they should have made a beginning by Michaelmas, the royal privilege would be withdrawn.

Aug.—The bare, half-moorish uplands of Buchan, in Aberdeenshire, are varied, on the course of the river Ythan, by a deep woody dell, on the edge of which is perched an ancient baronial castle named Gight. Here dwelt a branch of the noble house of Huntly—the GORDONS OF GIGHT—noted in modern literary history by reason of the heiress, in whom the line ended, having thrown herself and her family property into the arms of a certain spendthrift named Byron, by whom she became the mother of one who flourished as the most noted poet of his day.[1] At the time of which we are speaking, the Laird of Gight was a personage of some local importance, a baron of the house of Gordon, a noted supporter of the marquis in all his enterprises; above all, a man deeply offensive to the government of his day on account of his obstinate adherence to popery.

[1] Miss Gordon having married Mr Byron without any 'settlement,' her property was seized by his creditors and sold for £18,500, while she and her son, the future poet, were left to penury.

The kirk had levelled its artillery at George Gordon, the young laird, for a long time in vain; he had always hitherto contrived to put them off with fair promises. Now at length the presbytery of Aberdeen met in a stern mood, and appeared as if it would be trifled with no longer. Gordon, feeling that his means of resistance were failing, wrote a pleading letter to the reverend court, telling how he was deadly diseased, and unable to leave the country, but was willing, if agreeable to them, to confine himself within a mile of his own house, 'and receipt nane wha is excommunicat (my bedfellow excepted);' or he would go into confinement anywhere else, and confer with Protestant clergymen as soon as his sickness would permit. 'I persuade myself,' he adds, 'you will nocht be hasty in pronouncing the sentence of excommunication against me, for I knaw undoubtedly that sentence will prejudge my warldly estate, and will be ane great motive to you in the kirk of Scotland to crave my blude.' He concludes: 'If it shall please his majesty and your wisdoms of the Kirk of Scotland sae to tak my blude for my profession, whilk is Catholic Roman, I will maist willingly offer it; and, gif sae be, God grant me constancy to abide the same.' This letter proved unsatisfactory to the court, seeing it 'made nae offer that micht move them to stay from the excommunication.' Therefore, the court in one voice concluded that, unless Gordon came forward in eight days with sufficient surety for either subscribing or departing, he should be excommunicated without further delay.

Sep. or Oct.—Among the many men of name pursuing lawless and violent courses, one of the most noted was George Meldrum, younger of Dumbreck. In 1599, he set upon his brother Andrew at the Milltown of Dumbreck, and wounded him grievously, after which he carried him away and detained him as a prisoner for several weeks. In the ensuing year, he had committed a similar attack upon Andrew Meldrum of Auchquharties, conveying him as a malefactor from Aberdeenshire to the house of one Fyfe, on the Burgh-moor of Edinburgh, where he was kept several days, until he contrived to

make his escape. Law and private vengeance were alike devoid of terror to this young bravo, who seems never to have had any difficulty in procuring associates to assist him in his outrageous proceedings.

About the time here noted, he entered upon an enterprise partaking of the romantic, and which has actually been the subject of ballad celebration, though under a mistake as to his name and condition in life. Mr Alexander Gibson, one of the clerks of Session, and who subsequently was eminent as a judge under the designation of Lord Durie, was, for some reason which does not appear, honoured with the malice of young Dumbreck. Possibly, there was some legal case pending or concluded in which Gibson stood opposed to the interests of the brigand. However it was, Gibson was living quietly at St Andrews—he being a landed gentleman of Fife—when Meldrum, tracking him by a spy, learned one day that he was riding with a friend and a servant on the water-side opposite Dundee. Accompanied by a suitable party, consisting of two Jardines, a Johnston—Border thieves, probably—one called John Kerr, son to the Tutor of Graden, and Alexander Bartilmo, with two foot-boys, all armed with swords, hagbuts, and pistols, he set upon Mr Gibson and his friend in a furious manner, compelling them to surrender to him as prisoners; after which he robbed them of their purses, containing about three hundred merks in gold and silver, and hurried them southward to the ferry of Kinghorn. There, having liberated the friend and servant, he conducted Mr Gibson across the Firth of Forth, probably using some means, such as muffling of the face, to prevent his prisoner from being recognised. At least, we can scarcely suppose that, even in that turbulent age, it would have been possible otherwise to conduct so important and well-known a man as an involuntary prisoner to the house of William Kay in Leith, and thence past the palace of Holyroodhouse through the whole county of Edinburgh, and thence again to Melrose; for such was the course they took. Before entering Melrose, Meldrum divided the money they had taken between himself and his accomplices, each getting about twenty merks. He

then conducted Mr Gibson across the Border, landing him in the castle of Harbottle, which appears to have then been the residence of one George Ratcliff; and here the stolen lawyer was kept in strict durance for eight days.—*Pit.* We may here adopt something of the traditionary story, as preserved by Sir Walter Scott: 'He was imprisoned and solitary; receiving his food through an aperture in the wall, and never hearing the sound of a human voice save when a shepherd called his dog by the name of *Batty*, and when a female domestic called upon *Madge*, the cat. These, he concluded, were invocations of spirits, for he held himself to be in the dungeon of a sorcerer.'[1]

How Mr Gibson was liberated, we do not learn. During his absence, his wife and children mourned him as dead. George Meldrum contrived, in November 1603, to gain forcible possession of his brother Andrew's house of Dumbreck; and there he hoped to set law at defiance. The case, however, was too clamant to allow of his escaping in this manner. A party of his majesty's guard being sent to Aberdeen for his capture, the citizens added a force of sixteen men, with a commander, and then a regular siege was established round the den of the outlaw. Being compelled to submit, he was carried to Edinburgh, and subjected to a trial, which ended in his having the head struck from his body at the cross, January 12, 1604.

Nov. 24.—The pest was declared to have at this time broken out in the town of Crail in Fife, and in the parishes of Eglesham, Eastwood, and Pollock in Renfrewshire. Orders for secluding the population of those places were, as usual, issued. —*P. C. R.*

On the 21st of December, the pest was understood to have entered Glasgow. The inhabitants of that city were therefore forbidden to visit Edinburgh.

On the 26th of January 1602, it is stated that the infected families of Crail being put forth upon the neighbouring moor, and there being no provision for 'the entertening of the puir

[1] See the ballad of *Christie's Will*, with the notes, in the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*.

and indigent creatures,' they had wandered throughout the country in quest of food, and thus endangered the spread of the disease. The sheriff of Fife was ordered to see provision made for these people, and to take measures for punishing those who had wandered.

On the 4th of February, the pestilence was in Edinburgh, and the Court of Session was obliged in consequence to rise. Birrel notes: 'The 19 of February, John Archibald with his family were taken out to the Burrow-muir, being infectit with the pest.' Probably others immediately followed. This circumstance brings before us the celebrated John Napier, younger of Merchiston, who, on the 11th of March, complained to the Privy Council that the magistrates having ploughed up and turned to profitable service the place where they used formerly to lodge people infected with the pest, had on this occasion planted the sick in certain yards or parks of his at the Scheens, without any permission being asked. The magistrates did not come forward to defend themselves; nevertheless, the Council, considering the urgency of the demands of the public service, ordained that the lands in question should be left in the hands of the magistrates till next Candlemas, on terms to be agreed upon.

Dec. 11.—Great hatred and strife had now lasted for some years between the Earl of Cassillis [1] and Sir Thomas Kennedy of Colzean on the one side, and the Laird of Bargeny, the Laird of Blairwhan, the Laird of Girvanmains, and some other Carrick gentlemen on the other. The crafty Laird of Auchindrain, though professedly reconciled to Sir Thomas Kennedy,[2] was mainly on the side of Bargeny, who was his brother-in-law. It is believed that he employed himself to inflate Bargeny, who was but a youth, with ambitious designs, making him believe that he could easily put himself on a level with the Earl of Cassillis. The king made an effort to reconcile the parties, but it had no permanent effect. For some time these Carrick

[1] John, fifth Earl of Cassillis, son of the lord who roasted Allan Stewart in Dunure Castle; see pp. 48–50.

[2] See page 146.

chieftains were chiefly busied in devising plots against each other's lives. On one occasion, the earl, having been induced to accept the hospitality of the Laird of Blairwhan, was apprised that certain of his unfriends, along with Blairwhan, intended to murder him in his bed; he therefore left the house by a back-door and made his way by night to Maybole. On another occasion, with the consent of Bargeny, the Laird of Benand, with some associates, lay in ambush in the kiln of Daljarrock, in which they had made holes for their hagbuts, designing to shoot Lord Cassillis as he passed that way. Receiving timely warning, he escaped the danger by going his journey by another road.

On the 6th of December 1601, the Laird of Bargeny had occasion to go to Ayr on business. Along with him rode his brother and the Laird of Benand—the two leaders in the affair of the kiln—and ten or twelve other horsemen. Passing within a quarter of a mile of Cassillis Castle and not stopping to pay their respects to the earl, they thus violated one of the most sacred of the social laws then existing. Lord Cassillis could interpret it into nothing but the grossest insult. He was the more enraged, knowing that Bargeny's two principal companions had lately lain in wait for his life. He immediately took measures for gathering his friends about him, and sent spies to Ayr to apprise him of all Bargeny's movements.

After spending four or five days in Ayr, Bargeny proposed to return to his own house, much against the advice of his friends, who feared dangers by the way. Setting out with a company of about eighty on horseback, in the midst of a dense snow-storm, he made a halt at the Bridge of Doon—that place since made so famous from another cause—and there addressed his people, protesting that he sought no quarrel with Lord Cassillis, but expressing his hope that, if attacked, they would stand around him and do their duty as became men of honour. They all assured him that they would die in his defence. He then divided his train into two parties, and riding on, at the Lady Cross met the earl, who came out of Maybole with fully two hundred men. Being all ready to meet, the ane on the

Teind knowe, and the other on the next, within the shot of ane musket, they began to flyte [use despiteful language towards each other].

The Laird of Bargeny, anxious still to avoid fighting if possible, led off his men along the side of a bog; but the Cassillis party came by the other side and met him at the bottom. He then made a dash forward across a ditch, with Muir of Auchindrain, his page, and three other gentlemen, but, not being supported by any others, found himself outnumbered by the enemy. A brief conflict took place, in which the laird and his friends did some damage to the opposite party; but it was all in vain. Auchindrain was wounded, the page was killed, one of his friends unhorsed, and another sore hurt. He himself, though but one of his friends remained, was not daunted, but rode rapidly into the ranks of the enemy. He was instantly set upon by a host of the earl's friends, who strake at him with swords and bore him back by sheer force. At that moment, one John Dick, who had formerly received benefits at his hands, thrust a lance through his throat and stopped his breath. The poor gentleman was then borne off by his horse towards such of his party as still stood their ground, and fell at their feet. The skirmish being now at an end, they were allowed to conduct him away from the field, taking him first to a barn at a place called Dingham, then to Maybole, and finally to Ayr, where he soon after died, being but twenty-five years of age, leaving a widow and two children to bewail his bloody end.

The procedure consequent on this sad tragedy is very notable. The Countess of Cassillis rode immediately to court, to intercede for James's favour towards her lord. With the help of the Laird of Colzean, she contrived to obtain an act of Council, making the earl's part in the late conflict 'good service to the king'—the pretext being that, in the opposite party, was Thomas Kennedy, Bargeny's brother, a denounced rebel. A partial contemporary adds: '*The ten thousand merks given to the treasurer was what did the turn.*'

'The Lady Bargeny rade to Edinburgh and made her complent to the king and queen, but was little better, or least but

heard; for she was compellit to buy the ward of her son, and to give thirteen thousand merks for the same.' It is alleged that she afterwards used all the means she could to take the life of Lord Cassillis, in revenge for her husband's death. She died in 1605.

1602.

The winter of 1601–2 is described by Birrel as of unheard-of severity and duration. It lasted from the 1st of November to the 1st of May. In February was a ten-days' snow-fall.

May 11.—Sir Thomas Kennedy of Colzean was this day murdered in the immediate neighbourhood of the town of Ayr. 'He was ane very potentous man, and very wise. He had buildit ane proper house in the Cove [the mansion superseded by the present Colzean Castle], with very brave yards; and, by ane moyen and other, had conquest ane guid living.' We have seen (page 146) an attempt upon the life of this gentleman at Maybole, by Mure of Auchindrain, who subsequently was reconciled to him, and, for the confirmation of amity, caused his son to be married to Sir Thomas's daughter. It nevertheless became in time apparent that Mure was the prime mover of this atrocious murder, the circumstances of which are thus related by the king's advocate, Sir Thomas Hamilton.

Sir Thomas Kennedy, 'being only intentive on his own *adocs*, whilk did require his resort to Edinburgh, there to consult with his lawyers in his wechty business, he send his servant to Maybole, to seek Auchindrain and advertise him of his purpose. This servant of Colzean's, missing Auchindrain in Maybole, desired Mr Robert Mure, schoolmaster at Maybole, to write ane letter of that substance to Auchindrain; who did so, and sent it by ane boy of his school, called William Dalrymple; who, finding Auchindrain at his house of Auchindrain, with his cousin Walter Mure of Cloncaird, ane deadly enemy to the Earl of Cassillis; so soon as he [Auchindrain] fand himself certified of Colzean's purpose and diet, he dismissed the boy, commanding him to return back in haste, carrying the letter

with him; directing him further to shaw to his master and Colzean's man that he had not fand him at his house. . . . . Immediately thereafter, [he] resolved with his cousin Cloncaird that this occasion of revenge of Bargeny's slaughter by Colzean's murder was not to be unslipped. . . . . After some deliberation, [he] concluded upon the choice of the actors and manner of the execution, making advertisement thereof, as weel by letter to Thomas Kennedy of Drumurchy . . . . as by message to Cloncaird. . . . . The said Thomas Kennedy, Walter Mure of Cloncaird, and four or five servants with them, weel armed and horsed, convoying themselves near the way appointed by Colzean's letter for his meeting with Auchindrain, did lie await for Colzean's by-coming; who, being in full security of his dangerless estate, riding upon ane pacing nag, and having with him ane servant only, they suddenly surprised him, and with their pistols and swords gave him ane number of deadly wounds; and, not content to have so barbarously and traitorously bereft him of his life, spoiled him of ane thousand merks of gold, being in his purse, ane number of gold buttons upon his coat, and some rings and other jewels.'

'He being slain, his man Lancelot brings him with him to the Greenan, and there gets ane horse litter, and takes him to Maybole, where there was great dule made for him.'—*Hist. Ken.*

Sir Thomas Hamilton proceeds to narrate that, while the actual murderers were first outlawed and afterwards forefaulted, Auchindrain fell under strong suspicion of having been the deviser of the deed. The reader must be referred to July 1611 for the remainder of the history of this extraordinary criminal. Here, however, may be introduced the remarkable fact, that the Earl of Cassillis made an attempt to obtain a private revenge on Auchindrain for the murder of his uncle Colzean. The earl had long been on bad terms with his brother Hugh, whom we have seen as the guilty associate of Auchindrain. Now, he made up all past quarrels with Hugh, and granted him a bond, September 4, 1602, stating: 'How-soon our brother, Hugh Kennedy of Brownston, with his complices, *takes the Laird of Auchindrain's life*, we sall mak

guid and thankful payment to him and them of the sum of twelve hundred merks yearly, together with corn to six horses, [until] we receive them in household with ourself, beginning the first payment immediately after their committing of the said deed. Attour [moreover] howsoon we receive them in household, we shall pay to the twa serving gentlemen the fees, yearly, as our awn household servants. And hereto we oblige us, *upon our honour*.'—*Pit.*

Nov. 1.—At Perth—'Henry Balnaves and William Jack made their repentance in their awn seats on Sabbath afternoon, for making libel against Mr William Couper, minister, and Henry Elder, clerk—

> As King David was ane sair sanct to the crown,
> So is Mr William Couper and the clerk to this poor town.

Ane act of Council against them, that nane of them should bear office or get honourable place in the town thereafter.'—*Chron. Perth.*

Dec. 1.—It had become a practice for persons who had revengeful feelings towards their neighbours to obtain petards from the continent, and employ them for the destruction of those against whom they had an ill-will. The king now issued a proclamation against 'sic detestable and unworthy crimes, without example in any other kingdom,' whereby 'na man of whatsomever rank and calling can assure his awn safety and preservation within his awn house and iron yetts.' He ordered all who have any 'pittartis' to surrender them at the next burgh immediately, and forbade any more being brought home by sea, or made or mended within the country.—*P. C. R.*

1603.

Jan. 30.—'Francis Mowbray brak ward out of the [Edinburgh] Castle, and he fell owir the wall and brak his craig [neck]. Thereafter, he was trailit to the gallows, and hangit; and thereafter he was quarterit, and his head and four quarters put on the four ports.'

In this brief manner Birrel narrates the sad end of a sprightly and gallant, though intemperate spirit. Francis Mowbray was a son of Sir John Mowbray of Barnbougle, an ancient house long since gone down to nothing. Francis himself was the friend and companion of Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, the hero of the attack on Carlisle Castle in 1596. He had taken part in that exploit, but soon after got into trouble, in consequence of a quarrel with one William Schaw, whom he struck through with a rapier and killed.

An Italian fencer named Daniel, residing in London, had denounced Mowbray to Elizabeth's government as having undertaken to kill the king of Scots. Mowbray denied the accusation, and offered the combat. The two being sent down to Edinburgh, it was arranged that they should fight hand to hand in the great close of Holyroodhouse; but before the appointed day arrived, notice came from England that some witnesses had come forward who could prove the treason. On the 29th of January, Mowbray was confronted with the witnesses, whose evidence, however, was not considered conclusive. The two were placed in several apartments in Edinburgh Castle, the Italian occupying a room immediately above Mowbray.

At eight o'clock in the evening of the 30th of January, being Sunday, Francis Mowbray was found dying at the foot of the Castle rock. It was stated that he had sewed his blankets together, and let himself down over the wall; but the line being too short, he fell, and mortally injured himself. The unfortunate man died in the course of the night. An attempt was made by some friends to raise a report that he had been thrown over the window; but this was believed by few. The authorities showed no hesitation about the matter; but, concluding on the guilt of the deceased, had his body dragged backwards through the streets to the bar of the Court of Justiciary, where sentence was duly passed against him. The corpse was then dealt with as Birrel relates. The superstitious remarked the verification of the fearful words of the deceased—that he might fall at his enemies' feet, and become a spectacle to all Edinburgh.—*Pit. Cal.*

Feb. 9.—This is the date of an outbreak of private warfare which throws all contemporary events of the same kind into the shade.

In pursuance of a quarrel of some standing between the Clan Gregor and Colquhoun, Laird of Luss, the former came in force to the banks of Loch Lomond. The parties met in Glenfruin, and the Colquhouns, out-manœuvred by the enemy, were overthrown. The Macgregors, besides killing a number of persons, variously stated at three score and four score, in the battle, are alleged to have murdered a number of prisoners (amongst whom, by the way, was Tobias Smollett, bailie of Dumbarton, very likely an ancestor of the novelist, his namesake), and also some poor unarmed people. The whole slaughter is set down at 140 persons. Besides all this, they carried off 600 cattle, 800 sheep and goats, fourteen score of horse and mares, 'with the haill plenishing, gudes and geir, of the four-score-pound land of Luss, burning and destroying everything else.' It has been alleged that they killed the laird after taking him prisoner, and murdered a number of school-boys from the college or school of Dumbarton; but these would appear to be groundless charges. Such as their guilt was, it proved the commencement of a long course of oppression and misery endured by this clan. According to a contemporary writer, a mournful procession came to Edinburgh, bearing eleven score of bloody shirts, to excite the indignation of the king against the Macgregors. There being no friend of the Macgregors present to plead their cause, letters of intercommuning were immediately issued against them.

Reign of James the Sixth.

1603–1625.

THE death of Elizabeth, March 24, 1603, opened the way for King James to the English throne. He left Scotland on the 5th of April, after taking a tender farewell of his Scottish subjects, and promising to revisit them once every three years. He did not allow one year to elapse without making an effort to accomplish a union between England and Scotland; but it ended in the comparatively narrow result of establishing that the *postnati*—that is, Scotsmen born after the king's accession to the English crown—should be regarded as naturalised in both countries.

James continued to be anxious for the reduction of the Scottish Church under the royal supremacy and a hierarchy. The personal influence he acquired as king of England enabled him in some degree to accomplish this object, though all but wholly against the inclinations of the clergy and people.

At a parliament held in Perth (July 1606), under the king's favourite minister, George Home, Earl of Dunbar, bishops were introduced, and the king's prerogative confirmed in ample style. The Scottish statesmen and councillors were full of servility to the king. James caused several of the more zealous Presbyterian clergy, including the venerable but still energetic Andrew Melville, and his nephew James, to be brought to a conference in London, hoping to prevail upon them to cease their opposition; but it ended in the one being banished for an epigram, and the other being confined for life to the town of Berwick. In 1610, the king's supremacy was acknowledged by the General Assembly, and consecrated bishops were settled in authority over dioceses. A court of High Commission, with immense power over clergy,

schools, colleges, and people, was also introduced. Regal influence, gold, cajolery, and a judicious deliberation, effected the *appearance* of an Episcopal reformation, while the great bulk of the people endured with a silent protest what they could not resist.

The king's sole visit to his native kingdom took place in 1617, as to some extent detailed in the chronicle. His chief design was to advance the desired reformation of the national religion, by paving the way for an introduction of some of the English ceremonies.

Beyond inducing a few ministers to accept the mitre, and obtaining a hollow conformity from persons in authority, James made no progress in converting the Scotch to Episcopacy, excepting in Aberdeenshire and some other northern provinces. The people refused to kneel at the communion, or have baptism and the eucharist administered in private. The holy-days were disregarded. Withdrawing from the churches, the people began to meet in conventicles or in private houses for worship after their own manner. The established church sank into the character of 'an institution.'

The English reign of James VI. was, nevertheless, in secular respects, a comparatively serene and happy time in Scotland. Peace blessed the land. For the first time, the law was everywhere enforced with tolerable vigour; some practical improvements were introduced. Even the Highlands began during this period to show some approach to order.

James died March 27, 1625, in his fifty-ninth year, after a nominal reign over Scotland of little less than fifty-eight years.

1603.

Intelligence of the death of Elizabeth, which took place at an early hour on the morning of Thursday the 24th March, was brought to King James by Robert Carey, a young aspirant of the English court, who, making a rapid journey on horseback, reached Holyroodhouse on Saturday evening (Mar. 26) after the king had retired to rest. The son of the governor of Berwick came next day and delivered the keys of that town to the Scottish monarch. On the ensuing Sunday (Apr. 3), James appeared in his ordinary seat in St Giles's Kirk, attended by a number of the English nobility; and after service, addressed the congregation, promising to defend the faith, and to 'visit

his people and guid subjects in Scotland every three years.' On the 5th of April, 'his majesty took journey to Berwick; at whilk time there was great lamentation and mourning amang the commons for the loss of the daily sight of their blessit prince.'

June.—The pestilence, which had for some time been raging in England, is noted as now affecting the south of Scotland, and continuing till the ensuing February.—*Chron. Perth.*

July 21.—James Reid, a noted sorcerer and charmer, was strangled and burnt on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh for his alleged practice of healing by the black art. 'Whilk craft,' says his dittay, 'he learnt frae the devil, his master, in Binnie Craigs and Corstorphin Craigs, where he met with him and consulted with him to learn the said craft; wha gave him three pennies at ane time, and a piece creish [grease] out of his bag at ane other time; he having appeared to the said James diverse times, whiles in the likeness of a man, whiles in the likeness of a horse . . . . whilk likewise learned him to tak south-rinning water to cure the said diseases.' Other crimes were alleged against him. The authorities made short work of so grievous an offender by sending him direct from judgment to execution. —*Pit.*

Oct. 2.—Campbell of Ardkinlas, set on by the Earl of Argyll, exerted himself to capture Macgregor of Glenstrae, who for some months had been under ban of the government on account of the slaughterous conflict of Glenfruin. He called Macgregor to a banquet in his house, which stands within a loch, and there made no scruple to lay hold of the unfortunate chieftain. Being immediately after put into a boat, under a guard of five men, to be conducted to the Earl of Argyll, Macgregor contrived to get his hands loose, struck down the guardsman nearest him, and leaping into the water, swam to land unharmed.

Some time after, the Earl of Argyll sent a message to

Macgregor, desiring him to come and confer with him, under promise to let him go free if they should not come to an agreement. He 'came with the Earl of Argyll to Edinburgh' (January 9, 1604), 'with eighteen mae of his friends.' The remainder of the transaction is narrated by the diarist Birrel. Macgregor 'was convoyit to Berwick by the guard, conform to the earl's promise; for he promised to put him out of Scots grund. Sae he keepit ane Hielandman's promise, in respect he sent the guard to convoy him out of Scots grund; but they were not directed to part with him, but to fetch him back again. The 18 of January, he came at even again to Edinburgh, and upon the 20 day, he was hangit at the Cross, and eleven mae of his friends and name, upon ane gallows; himself being chief, he was hangit his awn height above the rest of his friends.'

1604.

James Melville notes in his *Diary* the appearance of a brilliant star which shone out this year 'aboon Edinburgh, hard by the sun,' in the middle of the day; 'prognosticating, undoubtedly, strange alterations and changes in the world; namely, under our climate.'

This notice most probably refers to a star of the same kind with that mentioned in 1572, and nearly as brilliant, which is described as having appeared in the east foot of Serpentarius, in October of this year.

Dec. 7.—'Ane hour before the sun rose, the moon shining clear two days before the change, in a calm and pleasant morning, there was at ane instant seen great inflammations of fire-flaughts in the eastern hemisphere, and suddenly thereafter there was heard ane crack as of a great cannon, and sensibly marked a great globe or bullet, fiery coloured, with a mighty whistling noise, flying from the north-east to the south-west, whilk left behind it a blue train and draught in the air, most like ane serpent in mony faulds and linkit wimples; the head whereof breathing out flames and smoke, as it wald directly invade the moon, and swallow her up; but immediately the sun, rising fair and pleasant, abolished all. The crack was heard of all, within

as without the house; and sic as were without at the time, or hastily ran out to see, did very sensibly see and mark the rest above rehearsed. Here was a subject for poets and prophets to play upon. . . . .'—*Ja. Mel.*

1605.

June 17.—'Ane combat or tulyie [was] foughten at the Salt Tron of Edinburgh betwixt the Laird of Ogle [Edzell], younger, and his complices, and the young Laird of Pitarrow, Wishart. The faught lasted frae 9 hours till 11 at night, twa hours. There were sundry hurt on both sides, and ane Guthrie slain, which was Pitarrow's man, ane very pretty young man. The 18th, they were accusit before the Council, and wardit.' —*Bir.*

The Lairds of Edzell and Pitarrow were committed to ward for not having confined their sons, as the chancellor had commanded. Edzell, foreseeing troubles to himself and his son from the death of Guthrie, sent a surgeon to examine the corpse, with a view to establishing that the young man had not died of the wounds he received in the tulyie, but had been 'smoored in the throng.'

Edzell was in his way a remarkable man. Possessing a degree of taste uncommon in that age, he had built for himself, at Edzell on the Esk in Forfarshire, a mansion of singular elegance, possessing in particular a screen-wall, ornamented with allegorical figures, the remains of which even at this day excite the surprise of the passing traveller. His latter days were clouded by the consequences of the violent passions of his eldest son, one of the principals in the above combat.

July.—At the end of this month, the pest broke out in Edinburgh, Leith, St Andrews, and other parts of the kingdom. Among the first houses infected in Edinburgh was that of the Chancellor Dunfermline. James Melville, looking to the recent proceedings of this statesman against the more zealous ministers, considered him as overtaken by 'the penalty pronounced by Joshua upon the building up of Jericho. . . . . His

eldest and his only son died, and a young damosel his niece, so that he was compelled to dissolve his family, and go with his wife alone, as in hermitage, with great fear of the death of his daughter also, on whom the boils brake forth. This was marked and talked of by the people.'

Nov. 5.—On the evening of this day, when the Gunpowder Plot was to have taken effect, a high wind produced some effects in the north of Scotland, which seemed in harmony with that wild affair. 'All the inner stone pillars of the north side of the cathedral church at Dornoch (lacking the roof before) were blown from the very roots and foundation, quite and clean over the outer walls of the church; which walls did remain nevertheless standing, to the great astonishment of all such as have seen the same. These great winds did even then prognosticate and foreshow some great treason to be at hand; and as the devil was busy then to trouble the air, so was he busy, by these his firebrands, to trouble the estate of Great Britain.' —*G. H. S.*

The Privy Council issued sundry proclamations 'anent the Poulder Treason,' one for the apprehension of Percy, the prime conspirator.

1606.

March 29 *and* 30.—The equinoctial gale of this year is described by a contemporary chronicler as of extreme violence. He says, with regard to the two days above noted: 'The wind was so extraordinary tempestuous and violent, that it caused great shipwreck in Scotland, England, France, and the Netherlands. It blew trees by the roots, ruined whole villages, and caused the sea and many rivers so to overflow their wonted limits and bounds, that many people and chattels were drowned and perished.'—*Bal.*

Sep. 4.—The Chancellor Dunfermline intimated to the king the pitiful case of the inhabitants of Dumbarton, their town being unable to defend themselves against 'the surges and inundations of the sea, which is likely to destroy and tak away

their haill town, and cannot be repulsit by nae moyen their poor ability and fortunes are able to furnish.' Those who were appointed to inquire into the matter now reported that it would require at least thirty thousand pounds Scots to make a proper bulwark. It was proposed to defray this charge by a tax on the country.

Dec. 23.—The Privy Council had some time ago issued a proclamation forbidding what was called the *backing of pairties to the bar*—that is, each party in a lawsuit coming into court with a number of friends and favourers behind him, with a view to exercising some influence over the course of justice. Finding that the former denouncement of 'this indecent and unseemly custom' had not been attended with any effect, partly through the public being unacquainted with it, and partly through the negligence of the officers of the law, the Council now renewed their proclamation, with assurance that their orders would in future be strictly acted upon. The practice continued in force some years later.—*P. C. R.*

1607.

Jan. 20.—At this time, Gordon of Gight, Forbes of Corsindae, and some others, formed themselves into what they called the Society of the Boys—much after the manner perhaps of the Whiteboys of Ireland in more recent times. They bound themselves by oath to consider all quarrels as common amongst them, and are accused of having committed 'open and avowed reifs, herships, and other enormities, in all parts where they be maisters and commanders.' All this appears from a letter of the Privy Council, of date January 20, 1607, to the Marquis of Huntly, commanding him to take order for their suppression, 'as your lordship wald eschew that hard censure and construction which his majesty maun mak of your behaviour in this point.'

June 2.—The Privy Council refer to 'a very ancient and lovable custom' of giving a blue gown, purse, and as many Scotch shillings as agreed with the years of the king's age, to as

many 'auld puir men' as likewise agreed with the king's years; and seeing it to be 'very necessary and expedient that the said custom should be continuit,' they give orders accordingly.—*P. C. R.*

The 'auld puir men' so favoured were called the King's Bedesmen, and were privileged to go about the country as beggars, notwithstanding any general enactments that might exist against mendicancy. Their blue cloak bore a pewter badge which assured them of this right. They were expected to requite the king's bounty by their prayers; and, doubtless, as they had such an interest in the increase of his years, their intercessions for his prolonged life must have been sincere. The distribution of their cloaks and purses used to take place on the king's birthday, at the end of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, till a time not long gone by.

Nov.—'A vehement frost continued from Martinmas till the 20th of February. The sea froze so far as it ebbed, and sundry went into ships upon ice and played at the *chamiare* a mile within the seamark. Sundry passed over the Forth a mile above Alloa and Airth, to the great admiration of aged men, who had never seen the like in their days.'—*Cal.*

The keenness and duration of this frost were marked by the rare occurrence of a complete freezing of the Thames at London, where accordingly a fair was held upon the ice. In Scotland, rivers and springs were stopped; the young trees were killed, and birds and beasts perished in great numbers. Men travelling on their affairs, suffered numbness and lassitude to a desperate degree. Their very joints were frozen; and unless they could readily reach a shelter, their danger was very great. In the following spring, the fruit-trees showed less growth than usual; and in many places the want of singing-birds was remarked.—*Jo. Hist.*

1608.

Horse-racing was early practised as a popular amusement in Scotland. In 1552, there was an arrangement for an annual horse-race at Haddington, the prize being, as usual, a silver

bell. Early in the reign of James VI., there were races at both Peebles and Dumfries. The Peebles race was accustomed to take place on Beltane-day, the 1st of May; it was the chief surviving part of the festivities which had from an early period distinguished the day and place, and which were celebrated in the old poem of *Peebles to the Play*.

The great difficulty attending such popular festivals arose from the tendency of the people to mark them with bloodshed. Men assembled from different parts of the country, each having of course his peculiar enmities, and the object of similar enmities in his turn; and when they met and had somewhat inflamed themselves with liquor, it was scarcely avoidable that mutual provocations should be given, leading to conflicts with deadly weapons. So great reason was there now for fearing a sanguinary scene at Peebles, that the Lords of Council thought proper to issue a proclamation (April 28) forbidding the race to take place.—*P. C. R.*

May 31.—Margaret Hertsyde had entered the service of the queen in a humble capacity in Scotland, and accompanying her majesty to England, was there considerably advanced, and received from the queen many marks of favour. Enriched with the royal liberality, she returned to her native country as a great lady, attended by her husband John Buchanan, who had been a servant of the king. The pair attracted an invidious attention by the high airs they gave themselves, affecting by the purchase of land to become persons of quality, appearing in a carriage drawn by white horses, and apparently wholly forgetful of their humble origin. It was therefore with no great regret that the people learned that Margaret was apprehended, on suspicion of having taken jewellery from her royal mistress to the value of £400 sterling. The unfortunate woman confessed her guilt to the queen; but on her being brought to trial at Linlithgow some technical difficulties arose as to how far a person could be considered guilty of theft who had only withheld unaccounted for certain articles of which she had been in trust. A direct conviction could not therefore be recorded.

In these circumstances, by an irregularity which marks the character of the age, the king interfered, with an order that Margaret Hertsyde be declared infamous and banished to Orkney. She was also adjudged to pay £400 sterling to the commissioner upon her majesty's dotarial estate of Dunfermline. A grave historian of that day moralises upon the case as a sad example of the mutability of fortune.

In 1619, 'her doom having been humbly and with great patience embraced and underlain by her, and her behaviour continually sin syne having been very dutiful,' Margaret so far succeeded in obtaining the king's grace as to have the reproach of infamy removed.—*Pit. Jo. Hist.*

July 5.—Dundee is described as suffering under 'the contagious sickness of the pest, and a great many of the houses are infectit therewith, and greater infection like to ensue in respect of the few number of magistrates within the same, and the little care and regard had of the government thereof, ane of the said magistrates being departit this life, and ane other of them visited with disease and infirmity, and not able to undergo sae great pains and travels in his person and otherwise as is requisite at sae necessar a time.' For these reasons, the Privy Council appointed three citizens to act as assistant-magistrates. —*P. C. R.*

July 13.—We hear at this time of one of the last attempts to settle a dispute by regular combat; and it is the more remarkable, as several persons were concerned on each side. On the one part stood 'the Lord Sinclair, David Seton of Parbroth, and John Sinclair elder and John Sinclair younger, sons to the said Lord Sinclair;' on the other were George Martin of Cardone and his three sons. A mutual challenge had passed between the parties, 'with special designation of time, place, form, and manner of the combat,' and the rencontre would have, to all appearance, taken place, had not some neighbours interfered to prevent it. The parties were summoned before the Privy Council, to answer for their conduct.

Martin and his sons were denounced as rebels for not appearing (July 21).—*P. C. R.*

Nov. 8.—'There was an earthquake at nine hours at night, sensible enough at St Andrews, Cupar, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, but more sensible at Dumbarton; for there the people were so affrayed, that they ran to the kirk, together with their minister, to cry to God, for they looked presently for destruction. It was thought the extraordinar drouth in the summer and winter before was the cause of it.'—*Cal.*

At Perth, this earthquake shook the east end of the Tolbooth, insomuch that 'many stones fell aff it.'—*Chron. Perth.*

At Aberdeen, where the shock excited great alarm, the kirk-session met, and accepting the earthquake as 'a document that God is angry against the land, and against this city in particular, for the manifold sins of the people,' appointed a solemn fast to be held on the ensuing day, and 'the covenant to be renewed by the haill people with God, by halding up of their hands publicly before God in his sanctuary, and promising by his grace to forbear in time coming from their sins.' There was one particular sin which was thought to have had a great concern in bringing about the earthquake—namely, the salmon-fishing practised on the Dee on Sunday. Accordingly, the proprietors of the salmon-fishings were called before the session and rebuked. 'Some,' says the session record, 'promist absolutely to forbear both by himselfs and their servands in time coming; other promised to forbear upon the condition subscryvant; and some plainly refusit anyway to forbear.'[1]

1609.

Jan. 5.—'. . . . the wind did blow so boisterously, that the like was not heard in the memory of man. Houses in burgh and land were thrown down with the violence of it; trees

[1] The fishing of salmon in the river Dee on Sunday was a custom of some antiquity, as it had been expressly warranted by a bull of Pope Nicholas V. in 1451. The privilege was limited to the Sundays of those five months of the year in which salmon most abound; and the first salmon taken each Sunday was to belong to the parish church. The bull recites that both by the canon and the common law, the right of prosecuting the herring-fishing on Sunday was conceded to all the faithful.—*Reg. Epis. Aber.* (Spalding Club).

rooted up, corn-stacks and hay-stacks blown away. Some men passing over bridges were driven over violently and killed. The wind continued vehement many days and weeks, even till mid-March, howbeit not in the same measure that it blowed this day.'—*Cal.*

Aug.—There was a Presbyterian prejudice against burying in churches, and the *blame of kirk-burial* had not only been a subject for the pamphleteer, but the legislature. Nevertheless, John Schaw of Sornbeg in Ayrshire, on the death of his wife, resolved to inhume her corpse in his parish kirk of Galston, in spite of all the minister and session could say or do to the contrary. Accompanied by his brother and his 'bailie,' and attended by a numerous party, 'all bodin in feir of weir,' he came to the church, broke up the door with fore-hammers, and dug a grave, in which he deposited his spouse. He was afterwards glad to make public repentance for this fact, and pay twenty pounds to the box-master of the kirk, besides which the Privy Council ordained him to appear again as a penitent, and solemnly promise never again to attempt to bury any corpse within the church.'—*P. C. R.*

Under favour of the king, a number of strangers had been introduced into the country to practise the making of cloths of various kinds. A colony of them was settled in the Canongate, Edinburgh, headed by one John Sutherland and a Fleming named Joan van Headen, and 'are daily exercised in their art of making, dressing, and litting of stuffis, and gives great licht and knowledge of their calling to the country people.' These industrious and inoffensive men, notwithstanding the letters of the king investing them with various privileges, were now much molested by the magistrates of the Canongate, with a view to forcing them to become burgesses and freemen there in the regular way. On an appeal to the Privy Council (Oct. 26), their exemption was affirmed.

The time was approaching when, in accordance with a recent

act, the Egyptians were to depart from Scotland, under pain of being liable thereafter to be killed by any one without challenge of law. In anticipation of this dread time, one of the nation, named Moses Faw, appeared before the authorities of the kingdom, and pleaded for permission to remain under protection of the laws, on the ground that he had wholly withdrawn himself and his family from that infamous society, and was willing to give surety for his future good behaviour. The desired permission was extended to him on that condition (Nov. 9).—*P. C. R.*

1610.

Feb. 27.—Alexander Kirkpatrick, younger of Closeburn, being in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh for the slaughter of James Carmichael, son to John Carmichael of Spothe, the Lady Amisfield, wife of a neighbour, came to the prison and entered into conference with the keeper in his private apartments. At her persuasion, the man allowed 'Young Closeburn' to come to speak with her; and she then executed her design of exchanging clothes with him, and so allowing him to escape. The lady was warded in the Castle; but what ultimately became of her does not appear.—*Pit.*

July 27.—Piracy was at this time a flourishing trade, and the Scottish and Irish seas were a favourite walk of its practitioners. Vessels of various countries besides Scotland were pursued by these marauders and mercilessly plundered, their crews seized, tortured, and sometimes slaughtered, or else set ashore on desolate coasts, that they might not be readily able to take measures of redress. The Long Island, on the south-west coast of Ireland, appears to have served as a regular station for pirate ships; they also haunted much the Western Isles of Scotland. In 1609, a piratical crew, headed by two captains named Perkins and Randell, started from the Long Island in a vessel of 200 tons, named the *Iron Prize*, attended by a nimble pinnace of about half that burden; and for some months they roamed about the northern seas, picking up whatever small craft came in their way. They even had the audacity to show them-

selves at the mouth of the Firth of Forth. The attention of the Privy Council being called to their proceedings, three vessels were fitted out in a warlike manner at Leith and sent in quest of the pirates. Perkins and Randell had meanwhile come to Orkney to refit. They 'landed at the castle, and came to the town thereof,' where they 'behaved themselves maist barbarously, being ever drunk, and fechting amang themselves, and giving over themselves to all manner of vice and villainy.' Three of them attacked a small vessel belonging to the Earl of Orkney, lying on the shore, and were taken prisoners in the attempt by the earl's brother, James Stewart. A day or two after this event, the three government ships made their appearance, and immediately a great part of the piratical company made off in the pinnace. A pursuit proving vain, the government ships returned and attacked the *Iron Prize;* and after a desperate conflict, in which they had two men killed and sundry wounded, they succeeded in capturing the whole remaining crew, amounting to nearly thirty men, who, with those previously taken, were brought to Leith and tried (July 26). Being found guilty, twenty-seven of these wretched men, including the two captains, were hanged upon a gibbet next day at the pier of Leith. Three were reserved in the hope of their giving useful information.

Oct. 21.—'The Archbishop of St Andrews [Gladstanes], reposing in his bed in time of the afternoon sermon, the Sabbath after his diocesan synod in St Andrews, was wakened, and all the kirk and town with him, with a cry of blood and murder. For his sister son [Walter Anderson], master of his household, with a throw of his dagger, killed his cook [Robert Green], while as he was busy in dressing the lord-bishop's supper. The dagger light[ed] just under the left pap of the cook, who fell down dead immediately.'—*Cal.*

The young man was committed to prison; but 'the poor man's friends being satisfied with a piece of money, none being to pursue the murder, he was by moyen [influence] cleansed by a white assize (as they call it) and let go free.'—*Row.* This

trial took place before the regality court of St Andrews. On the ensuing 17th January, letters were raised by the king's advocate against the assize, but with what result does not appear.—*P. C. R.*

Nov. 1.—'. . . . before the going to of the sun, there were seen by twelve or thretteen husbandmen great companies of men in three battles, joining together and fighting the space of an hour, on certain lands perteening to my Lord Livingston and the Laird of Carse. The honest men were examined in the presence of divers noblemen, barons, and gentlemen, and affirmed constantly that they saw such appearance.'—*Cal.*

Dec. 23.—We have now the first hint at public conveyances in Scotland in a letter of the king, encouraging Henry Anderson of Trailsund to bring a number of coaches and wagons with horses into Scotland, and licensing him and his heirs for fifteen years 'to have and use coaches and wagons, ane or mae, as he shall think expedient, for transporting of his hieness lieges betwixt the burgh of Edinburgh and town of Leith . . . . providing that he be ready at all times for serving of his majesty's lieges, and that he tak not aboon the sum of twa shillings Scots money for transporting of every person betwixt the said twa towns at ony time.'

Dec. 24.—A patent was granted for the establishment of a glass manufacture in Scotland. The business was commenced at Wemyss, in Fife, and, about ten years after, we find it, to all appearance, going on prosperously. 'Braid glass'—that is, glass for windows—was made, measuring three-quarters of a Scots ell and a nail in length, while the breadth at the head was an ell wanting half a nail, and at the bottom half an ell wanting half a nail. It was declared to be equal in quality to Danskine glass. The glasses for drinking and other uses not being of such excellence, it was arranged that some specimens of English glass should be bought in London and established in Edinburgh Castle, to serve as patterns for the

Scotch glass in point of quality. For the encouragement of the native manufacture and to keep money within the country, the importation of foreign glass was (March 6, 1621) prohibited. —*P. C. R.*

1611.

May 10.—It was found necessary to put some restraint upon the number of poor Scotch people who repaired to the English court in hope of bettering their circumstances. The evil is spoken of as a 'frequent and daily resort of great numbers of idle persons, men and women, of base sort and condition, and without ony certain trade, calling, or dependence, going from hence to court, by sea and land.' It was said to be 'very unpleasant and offensive to the king's majesty, in so far as he is daily importuned with their suits and begging, and his royal court almost filled with them, they being, in the opinion and conceit of all behalders, bot idle rascals and poor miserable bodies;' the country, moreover, 'is heavily disgracit, and mony slanderous imputations given out against the same, as gif there were no persons of guid rank, comeliness, nor credit within the same.' The Council, therefore, deemed it necessary to cause an order to be proclaimed in all the burghs and seaports forbidding masters of vessels to carry any people to England without first giving up their names and declaring their errands and business to the Lords, under heavy penalties.—*P. C. R.*

July 11.—From an act of the Privy Council of this date, we get a curious idea of the customs of the age regarding legal suits. It was declared that one of the chief causes of 'the frequent and unlawful convocations, and the uncomely backing of noblemen and pairties upon the streets of Edinburgh,' was the fact that 'noblemen, prelates, and councillors repairing to this burgh do ordinarily walk on the streets upon foot, whereby all persons of their friendship and dependence, and who otherwise has occasion to solicit them in their actions and causes, do attend and await upon them, and without modesty or discretion, importunes and fashes them with untimely solicitations and impertinent discourses, and sometimes by their foolish insolence

and misbehaviour gives occasion of great misrule and unquietness within this burgh.'

The remedy ordered was as curious as the evil itself. It was, that noblemen, prelates, and councillors, when they come to the council or are abroad in the town on their private affairs, should, as became their rank, 'ride on horseback with footmantles or in coaches'—thus freeing themselves of that flocking of suitors which so much beset them when they appeared on foot.—*P. C. R.*

July 17.—This day, John Mure of Auchindrain, James Mure, his son, and James Bannatyne of Chapeldonald, were brought to trial in Edinburgh for sundry crimes of a singularly atrocious character. The first of these personages has been before us on two former occasions (see pages 146 and 172), to which reference may be made for an introduction to what is now to be related.

Auchindrain, it appears, felt that the boy William Dalrymple, who had carried the letter making the appointment for a meeting with Colzean, was a living evidence of his having been the deviser of the slaughter of that gentleman. He got the lad into his hands, and kept him for a time in his house; then on his wearying of confinement, sent him to a friend in the Isle of Arran; thence, on his wearying of being 'in a barbarous country among rude people,' he had him brought back to his own house, and, as soon as possible, despatched him with a friend to become a soldier in Lord Buccleuch's regiment, serving under Maurice, Prince of Orange. Dalrymple had not been long in the Low Countries, when he tired of being a soldier, and came back to Scotland. Once more he was at large in Ayrshire, and a source of uneasiness to Mure of Auchindrain. It was now necessary to take more decisive measures. Mure and his son (September 1607) sent a servant to the young man to take him to the house of James Bannatyne of Chapeldonald, and arranging to join them on the way, 'held divers purposes, speeches, and conferences with him, tried of him the estate of the Low Countries and sundry other

matters,' and finally placed him as a guest in Chapeldonald House, under the name of William Montgomery.

According to appointment, at *ten o'clock of the evening of next day*, James Bannatyne came with Dalrymple to meet the two Mures on the sands near Girvan. There, the elder Mure explained to Bannatyne the cause of his fears regarding the young man, telling him 'he saw no remeed but to redd Dalrymple furth of this life, since he could not otherwise be kept out of his way. Whereunto Bannatyne making answer, that it was ane cruel purpose to murder the poor innocent youth, specially seeing they might send him to Ireland, to be safely kept there . . . Auchindrain seemed to incline somewhat to that expedient; and, in the uncertainty of his resolution, turning toward the part where his son stood, of purpose, as appeared, to consult with him, young Auchindrain perceived them no sooner near, but, thereby assuring himself of their assistance in the execution of that whilk his father and he had concluded, he did violently invade Dalrymple, rushed him to the ground, and never left him till, helped by his father, with his hands and knees he had strangled him.'

The horrid deed being accomplished, the Mures, *with spades they had brought*, tried to bury Dalrymple in the sand; but, finding the hole always fill with water, they were at length obliged to carry the body into the sea, going in as far as they could wade, and hoping that an outgoing wind would carry it to the coast of Ireland. Five nights after, it was thrown back upon the beach at the very scene of the murder, and was soon found by the country-people. The Earl of Cassillis heard of it, and caused an account of the discovery to be published throughout the district. By the mother and sister of Dalrymple, it was at once pronounced to be his corpse, and suspicion instantly alighted upon the Mures. A relative, advised with about the rumour, said it could not be safe for them to brave the law in the teeth of so much prejudice; neither, supposing they absconded under such a suspicion, could their friends stand up for them. The only expedient was to make an excuse for going out of the way—assault, for instance, Hugh

Kennedy of Garriehorn, a servant of the Earl of Cassillis, a man against whom they had many 'probable quarrels.' The Mures actually adopted this expedient, setting upon Garriehorn in the town of Ayr, and only failing to slay him by reason of the vigour of his defence. The earl then saw that it was necessary to take strong measures against enemies capable of such doings, and he accordingly had them summoned both for Dalrymple's murder and for the assault of Garriehorn. They allowed themselves to be put to the horn—that is, denounced as rebels for not appearing—but loudly professed that, if freed on the score of the assault, they would stand their trial for the murder, alleging their entire innocence of that transaction. The king was now made acquainted with the case, and, by his orders, Auchindrain the elder was seized, and thrown into the Tolbooth in Edinburgh. The two culprits nevertheless continued to feel confidence in the want of proof against them, believing that, if Bannatyne were out of the way, it would be impossible to bring the fact home to them. The younger Mure, still at large, accordingly dealt with Bannatyne to induce him to go to Ireland. It is a wonder he did not at once send his friend to a more distant bourn. When Bannatyne was gone, young Mure came boldly forward to take his trial, somewhat to the embarrassment of the officers of justice. However, by the suggestion of his majesty, he was not allowed to depart till he should have suffered the torture, with a view to making him confess. To the admiration of all, he bore this treatment with unflinching fortitude, and confessed nothing.

Public sentiment now rose in favour of the Mures as persecuted men, and the Privy Council was inclined to let them off; and would have done so, had not the king continued firm in his belief of their guilt, and ordered them to be detained. Some years passed on, and proof seemed still past hope, when the Earl of Abercorn contrived to find out Bannatyne in Ireland, and caused him to be brought over to his own house in Paisley. There, Bannatyne gave a full account of the murder, but claimed, as fulfilment of a condition, that he should be allowed his freedom. The earl told him he had had no such

understanding of the matter; but, to take away all ground of complaint, he would liberate him for the meantime, but at the end of ten days make every possible effort to take him unconditionally, whether dead or alive. At this Bannatyne hesitated; he knew that already the Mures had been laying plots to get him cut off in Ireland—now, between their vengeance and the extreme persecution threatened by Lord Abercorn, he could see no chance for safety. He therefore avowed his inclination to make a full confession before a court of law, and trust to his majesty's clemency.

On being confronted with Bannatyne, the Mures appeared as obstinate in their protestations of innocence as ever, contradicting everything he said, and denouncing him as a tool of their enemies. They were, nevertheless, brought to trial, along with Bannatyne, on the day above noted—found guilty, and condemned to be beheaded at the Cross of Edinburgh, with forfeiture of all they possessed to his majesty's use. So ended this extraordinary tissue of crimes, old Auchindrain being at the time about eighty years of age.[1]—*Pit.*

Sep. 24.—'Sir James Lawson of Humbie, riding in Balhelvie Sands, where many other gentlemen were passing their time, sank down in a part of the sands and perished. He was found again on the morn, but his horse was never seen.'—*Cal.*

Oct. 25.—It had been customary for the Scottish universities to receive students who had, through misbehaviour, become fugitives from other seats of learning; and now, as a natural consequence, it was found that the native youth at the university of Edinburgh, presuming on impunity for any improprieties they might commit, or a resource in case of punishment being attempted, 'has ta'en and takes the bauldness to misknow the principal and regents, and to debord in all kind of uncomely

[1] While Pitcairn was editing his *Criminal Trials*, he sent some proof-sheets to Sir Walter Scott, containing an account of the above crimes; and the latter was so impressed with the story that he founded upon it his drama of *Auchendrane; or, The Ayrshire Tragedy*, with a prose introduction, in which he gives a powerful and graphic narrative of the facts which suggested the drama.

behaviour and insolences, no wise seemly in the persons of students and scholars.' The Privy Council therefore issued a strict order forbidding the reception of fugitive students into the universities.—*P. C. R.*

Nov. 4.—The Privy Council was at this time obliged to renew former acts against *Night-walkers* of the city of Edinburgh—namely, idle and debauched persons who went about the streets during the night in the indulgence of wild humours, and sometimes committing heinous crimes. If it be borne in mind that there was at that time no system of lighting for the streets of the city, but that after twilight all was sunk in Cimmerian darkness, saving for the occasional light of the moon and stars, the reader will be the better able to appreciate the state of things revealed by this public act. The Council ordered that no persons of any estate whatsoever presume hereafter to remain on the streets 'after the ringing of the ten-hour bell at night.' The magistrates were also ordained to appoint some persons to guard the streets, and apprehend all whom they might find there after the hour stated.—*P. C. R.*

1612.

Mar. 28.—Proceeding upon the principle that the smallest trait of industrial enterprise forms an interesting variety on the too ample details of barbarism, I remark with pleasure a letter of the king of this date, agreeing to the proposal lately brought before him by a Fleming—namely, to set up a work for the making of 'brinston, vitreall, and allome' in Scotland, on condition that he received a privilege excluding rivalry for the space of thirteen years. About the same time, one Archibald Campbell obtained a privilege to induce him 'to bring in strangers to make red herrings.' In June 1613, he petitioned that the king would grant him, by way of pension for his further encouragement, the fourteen lasts of herrings yearly paid to his majesty by the Earl of Argyll, 'as the duty of the tack of the assize of herrings of those parts set to him,' being of the value of £38 yearly.—*M. S. P.*

June.—There was at this time an 'extraordinary drowth, whilk is likely to burn up and destroy the corns and fruits of the ground.' On this account, a fast was ordered at Aberdeen.—*A. K. S. R.* In September, and for some months after, there are notices of 'great dearth of victual,' doubtless the consequence of this drought. 'The victual at ten pound the boll.'—*Chron. Perth.*

1613.

Aug.—Edward, Lord Bruce of Kinloss, lost his life in a duel fought near Bergen-op-Zoom with Sir Edward Sackville, afterwards Earl of Dorset. They were gay young men, living a life of pleasure in London, and in good friendship with each other, when some occurrence, arising out of their pleasures, divided them in an irremediable quarrel. Clarendon states that on Sackville's part the cause was 'unwarrantable.' They met, accompanied by their respective friends, at a spot near Bergen-op-Zoom, 'where but a village divides the States' territories from the Archduke's . . . to the end that, having ended, he that could, might presently exempt himself from the justice of the country by retiring into the dominion not offended.'

In the preliminary arrangements, some humane articles were agreed upon, probably by the influence of the seconds; but, if we are to believe Sir Edward Sackville, Lord Kinloss, in choosing his weapon, expressed some blood-thirsty sentiments that gave him reason to hope for little mercy if he should be the vanquished party. Being on his part incensed by these unworthy expressions, he, though heavy with a recent dinner, hurried on the combat. To follow his remarkable narrative:

'I being verily mad with anger [that] the Lord Bruce should thirst after my life with a kind of assuredness, seeing I had come so far and heedlessly to give him leave to regain his lost reputation, bade him alight, which with all willingness he quickly granted; and there, in a meadow ankle-deep in water at the least, bidding farewell to our doublets, in our shirts, began to charge each other; having afore commanded our surgeons to withdraw themselves a pretty distance from us, conjuring them

besides, as they respected our favours or their own safeties, not to stir, but suffer us to execute our pleasures; we being fully resolved (God forgive us!) to despatch each other by what means we could. I made a thrust at my enemy, but was short, and in drawing back my arm, I received a great wound thereon, which I interpreted as a reward for my short-shooting; but, in revenge, I pressed in to him, though I then missed him also, and then received a wound in my right pap, which passed level through my body, and almost to my back. And there we wrestled for the two greatest and dearest prizes we could ever expect trial for —honour and life; in which struggling, my hand, having but an ordinary glove on it, lost one of her servants, though the meanest, which hung by a skin. . . . . At last, breathless, yet keeping our holds, there passed on both sides propositions of quitting each other's swords; but when amity was dead, confidence could not live, and who should quit first, was the question; which on neither part either would perform, and restriving again afresh, with a kick and a wrench together, I freed my long-captivated weapon; which incontinently levying at his throat, being master still of his, I demanded if he would ask his life, or yield his sword; both which, though in that imminent danger, he bravely denied to do. Myself being wounded, and feeling loss of blood, having three conduits running on me, which began to make me faint, and he courageously persisting not to accord to either of my propositions, through remembrance of his former bloody desire, and feeling of my present state, I struck at his heart, but with his avoiding, missed my aim, yet passed through the body, and drawing out my sword, repassed it again through another place, when he cried: "Oh, I am slain!" seconding his speech with all the force he had to cast me; but being too weak, after I had defended his assault, I easily became master of him, laying him on his back, when, being upon him, I redemanded if he would request his life; but it seemed he prized it not at so dear a rate to be beholden for it, bravely replying, "he scorned it." Which answer of his was so noble and worthy, as I protest I could not find in my heart to offer him any more violence; only keeping

him down, until at length his surgeon, afar off, cried out, "he would immediately die if his wounds were not stopped." Whereupon, I asked if he desired his surgeon should come, which he accepted of; and so being drawn away, I never offered to take his sword, accounting it inhuman to rob a dead man, for so I held him to be. This thus ended, I retired to my surgeon, in whose arms, after I had remained a while for want of blood, I lost my sight, and withal, as I then thought, my life also. But strong water and his diligence quickly recovered me, when I escaped a great danger. For my lord's surgeon, when nobody dreamt of it, came full at me with his lord's sword; and had not mine, with my sword, interposed himself, I had been slain by those base hands; although my Lord Bruce, weltering in his blood, and past all expectation of life, conformable to all his former carriage, which was undoubtedly noble, cried out: "Rascal, hold thy hand!"'

Thus miserably, a victim of passion, died a young nobleman, who might otherwise have lived a long and useful life. Being childless, his title and estates went to his next brother, Thomas.

Silver Heart in Culross Abbey-church.

The heart of Edward, Lord Kinloss, was inclosed in a silver case, brought to Scotland, and deposited in the abbey-church of Culross, near the family seat. The tale of the *Silver Heart* had faded into a family tradition of a very obscure character, when, in 1808, this sad relic was discovered, bearing on the exterior the name of the unfortunate duellist, and containing what was believed to be the remains of a human heart. It was again deposited in its original place, with an inscription calculated to make the matter clear to posterity. The Bruce motto, FUIMUS, is also seen on the wall, conveying to the visitor an indescribable feeling of melancholy, as he reflects on the stormy passion which once

swelled the organ now resting within, and the wild details of that deadly quarrel of days long gone by.

'The unfortunate Lord Bruce saw distinctly the figure or impression of a mort-head on the looking-glass in his chamber that very morning he set out for the fatal place of rendezvous where he lost his life in a duel; and asked of some that stood by him if they observed that strange appearance: which they answered in the negative. His remains were interred at Bergen-op-Zoom, over which a monument was erected, with the emblem of a looking-glass impressed with a mort-head, to perpetuate the surprising representation which seemed to indicate his approaching untimely end. I had this narration from a field-officer whose honour and candour is beyond suspicion, as he had it from General Stuart in the Dutch service. The monument stood entire for a long time, until it was partly defaced when that strong place was reduced by the weakness or treachery of Cronstrom the governor.'—*Theophilus Insulanus's Treatise on the Second-Sight.* 1763.

Dec. 16.—The Privy Council of Scotland had this day under their consideration a subject which must have sent their minds back to the associations of an earlier and more romantic age. That custom among the people of the Scottish Border of going into Cheviot to hunt, which had led to the dismal tragedy narrated in the well-known ballad of *Chevy Chase*, was, it seems, still kept up. What was once the border of either country being now the middle of both in their so far united condition, the king felt the propriety of putting down a custom so apt to lead to bad blood between his English and Scottish subjects; and accordingly, his Council now ordered that the inhabitants of Roxburgh and Selkirk shires, of Liddesdale and Annandale, should cease their ancient practice of going into Tynedale, Redesdale, the fells of Cheviot and Kidland, for hunting and the cutting of wood, under pain of confiscation of their worldly goods.—*P. C. R.*

1614.

Mar. 3.—(Tuesday) at 'half an hour to sax in the morning,

ane earthquake had in divers places.' 'On Thursday thereafter, ane other earthquake at 12 hours in the night, had baith in land and burgh.'—*Chron. Perth.*

In this year, a small volume was printed and published by Andro Hart of Edinburgh, under the title of *Mirifici Logarithmorum Canonis Descriptio*, &c., *Auctore et Inventore Joanne Napero, Barone Merchistonii, Scoto.* This was a remarkable event in the midst of so many traits of barbarism, bigotry, and ignorance; for in Napier's volume was presented a mode of calculation forming an essential pre-requisite to the solution of all the great problems involving numbers which have since been brought before mankind. John Napier is believed to have been engaged in the elaboration of his Logarithms for fully twenty years, while at the same time giving some of his time to such inventions as burning-glasses for the destruction of fleets, to theological discussions, and the occult sciences. The tall, antique tower of Merchiston, in which he lived and pursued his studies, still exists at the head of the Burgh-moor of Edinburgh.

1615.

The latter part of the winter 1614–15 was of such severity as to be attended with several remarkable circumstances which were long remembered. In February, the Tay was frozen over so strongly as to admit of passage for both horse and man. An enormous fall of snow took place early in March, so as to stop all communication throughout the country. On its third day, many men and horse perished in vain attempts to travel. The accumulation of snow was beyond all that any man remembered. 'In some places, men devised snow-ploughs to clear the ground and fodder the cattle.'—*Bal.* The snow fell to such a depth and endured so long upon the ground, that, according to Sir Robert Gordon, 'most part of all the horse, nolt, and sheep of the kingdom did perish, but chiefly in the north.'

Feb. 28.—This day, John Ogilvie, a Jesuit, was hanged in

Glasgow, being the first priest who had suffered in that way in Scotland since the execution of the Archbishop of St Andrews at Stirling in 1571.

Apr. 26.—'Amang the mony abuses whilk the iniquity of the time and private respect of filthy lucre and gain has produced within the commonwealth'—thus gravely commences an act of the Privy Council—'there is of late discoverit a most unlawful and pernicious tred of *transporting of eggs furth of the kingdom*.' 'Certain avaritious and godless persons, void of modesty and discretion, preferring their awn private commodity to the commonweal, has gone and goes athort the country and buys the haill eggs that they can get, barrels the same, and transports them at their pleasure.' As an unavoidable consequence, 'there has been a great scarcity of eggs this while bygane,' and any that are to be had have 'risen to such extraordinar and heich prices as are not to be sufferit in a weel-governit commonwealth.' 'Moreover,' proceeds this sage document, 'if this unlawful tred be sufferit to be of ony langer continuance, it will fall out that in a very short time *there will no eggs nor poultry be funden within the country*.'

The Council was therefore prompted to order letters to be directed to all merchants and owners of vessels forbidding them to carry eggs out of the country, on pain of heavy fines and such further punishment as the Council might see fit to decree.—*P. C. R.*

1616.

Jan. 27.—'About five afternoon, there was a great fiery star, in the form of a dragon with a tail, running through the firmament, and in the running giving great light and spouting fire, which continued a pretty space before it vanished. Others describe it thus: that the night being fair and frosty, there arose a great fiery light in the south-west, after the setting of the sun, and ran to the north-east, having at the end thereof as it were the shape of the moon; and when it vanished out of sight, there were two great cracks heard, as if they had been thunder-claps. There followed a great calmness and frost for

eight or ten days; but the month following was bitter and stormy weather.'—*Cal.*

June 30.—This day being Sunday, Sir Robert Crichton of Cluny went to attend morning-service at St Cuthbert's Kirk, near Edinburgh, and had sat there a considerable time quietly, when he observed a boy belonging to the Earl of Tullibardine come to the door and look in. As the earl had before this time 'sought both his land and life,' he judged the boy to be a spy, and apprehended that some evil was designed to him. He therefore rose to go out, hoping peaceably to convey himself beyond the earl's reach; but no sooner had he done so than three men of the king's guard—all, be it remarked, bearing the name of *Murray*, being that of the earl—rose from a seat behind and showed a warrant for taking him. By their own confession, they had come to church for the purpose of lying in wait to take Sir Robert, though intending not to meddle with him till the end of the service. They now told him that they were willing to wait for him till the dismissal of the people, keeping him meanwhile in a chamber adjoining to the church, whereas if he went forth by himself he might get skaith, as there were several of the earl's 'folk' in the kirkyard. Sir Robert, however, disdained to submit to this ignominious treatment; so he and his son, drawing their swords, prepared to offer resistance. Of course, a tumult took place in the church, 'to the scandal of religion, and the great grief of the haill parochiners and others convenit at the sermon.'

The three guardsmen were ordered, for this offensive affair, to appear in the place of repentance in the church, and crave forgiveness of God and the people, while Sir Robert was committed to ward in the Tolbooth.—*P. C. R.*

A few years later (December 18, 1623), we find the Council issuing a strict order against the use of captions in churches.

A few months after the above date, we find a curious reference to wool in the Privy Council Record. The document states, that 'in some remote and uncivil places of this kingdom'

an old and barbarous custom was still kept up of *plucking the wool from sheep instead of clipping it.* The king, hearing of the practice, wrote a letter to his Council, denouncing it as one not to be suffered; telling them it had already been reformed in Ireland, under penalty of a groat on every sheep so used, and was 'far less to be endured in you.' The Council immediately (March 17, 1617) passed an act in the same tenor, and further stating that many sheep died in consequence of this cruel treatment—concluding with a threat of severe fines on such as should hereafter continue the practice.—*P. C. R.*

Sep. 16.—'. . . . there arose such a swelling in the sea at Leith, that the like was not seen before for a hundred years. The water came in with violence beside the bulwark, in a place called the Timber Holf [Howf], where the timber lay, and carried some of the timber and many lasts of herrings lying there, to the sea; brake in sundry low houses and cellars, and filled them with water. The like flowing was in Dunbar, Musselburgh, and other parts of the sea-coast. The people took this extraordinary tide to be a forewarning of some evil to come.'—*Cal.*

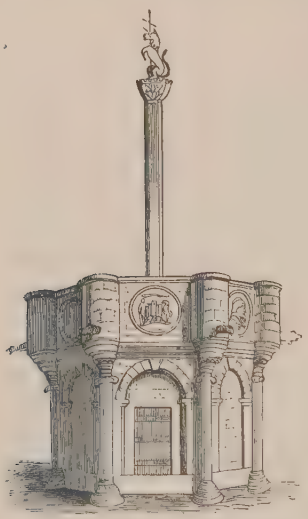
Acts of Privy Council against beggars were frequently issued, Edinburgh being infested with them—'strang and idle vagabonds'—'having their resets in some parts of the Cowgate, the Canongate, Potterrow, West Port, Pleasance, [and] Leith Wynd.' The Council at one time ordered the magistrates of Edinburgh and Canongate to get these wretched people expelled from their respective bounds, and suffer them no longer to seek alms on the streets.

Dec. 10.—The Privy Council this day ordained that there should be a school in every parish in the kingdom, for the advancement of the true religion, and the training of children 'in civility, godliness, knowledge, and learning.' The school was in each case to be established, and a fit person appointed to teach the same, upon the expenses of the parishioners, at

the sight and advice of the bishop of the diocese. This order for the plantation of schools was not vigorously carried out, and in 1626, King Charles I. is found making an effort to remedy the defect.

1617.

Feb.—'The new market-cross of Edinburgh was founded by the community of the said town, and within three months after was completed.'[1] 'Also at this time there was great preparations making for the coming of King James into Scotland, baith in all his majesty's palaces, castles, and abbeys, and especially in his castle of Edinburgh, whereof the new fore wark, with the great hall thereof, and many other rooms therein, was biggit to his majesty's great expenses by Sir Gideon Murray of Elibank, knight, his majesty's treasurer-depute.'—*Jo. Hist.*



Edinburgh Market Cross, 1617.

May 13.—'The king entered into Scotland accompanied with the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Arundel, Southampton, Pembroke, Montgomery, and Buckingham, Bishops of Ely, Lincoln, and Winchester, and sundry barons, deans, and gentlemen. He stayed in Dunglass two nights, and a night in Seaton. On Friday the 16th, he came to Leith, and about four afternoon, out of Leith to the West Port of Edinburgh, where he made his entry on horseback, that he might the better be seen by the people; whereas before he rode in the coach all the way. The provost, bailies, and council, and a number of

[1] This cross, which was demolished in 1756, only the surmounting shaft being preserved, was restored by Mr W. E. Gladstone in 1885.

citizens arrayed in gowns [of plain velvet], and others standing with speat [sharp-pointed] staves, received him at the port.' The provost and the town-clerk having severally harangued him, five hundred double angels (20*s.* sterling) in a silver double-gilt basin, were presented to him—'wha, with ane mild and gracious countenance, receivit them with their propyne.' 'The cannons of the castle were shot. He was convoyed first to the Great Kirk, where the Bishop of St Andrews had a flattering sermon upon the 21st Psalm, and thanked God for his prosperous journey. He knighted the provost. . . . . When he came to the palace of Holyroodhouse, the professors and students of the College of Edinburgh presented to him some poems made to his praise and in sign of welcome.'—*Cal.*

On the 19th of June, the king formally visited the Castle of Edinburgh, in order to celebrate his fifty-first birthday on the natal spot. Andrew Kerr, a boy of nine years of age, welcomed him at the gate in 'ane Hebrew speech.' On the 26th, 'there was a timber house erected on the back of the Great Kirk of Edinburgh [south side], which was decored with tapestry, where the town prepared a banquet for the king and the nobility. The day following, sundry knights and gentlemen of good note were banqueted in the same house and made burgesses. They danced about the cross with sound of trumpets and other instruments; throwed glasses of wine from the cross upon the people standing about, and ended with the king's scoll [health].' —*Cal.*

June 30.—The king commenced a second excursion in his native dominions by Stirling, Perth, St Andrews—thence back to Stirling, where he received a deputation of Edinburgh professors, who disputed before him in the chapel-royal of the castle, in the presence of the English and Scottish nobility and many learned men.

In the course of his excursion, the king had a hunt in the neighbourhood of Dunfermline. At this time the coal-works at Culross, on the shore of the Firth of Forth, were conducted

with great activity under their enterprising proprietor, Sir George Bruce. James invited his company to dine with him at a *collier's house*, referring to an elegant mansion which Sir George had built for his accommodation in the town of Culross. They proceeded in the first place to examine the coal-works, which were then wrought a considerable way under the sea, issuing at some distance from shore in a little island or moat, where the product of the mines was put directly on board vessels to be transported to various places. The king and his courtiers, unaware of this peculiar arrangement, were conducted along the mine till they reached the sea-shaft, and here being drawn up, found themselves suddenly surrounded by the waves. James, always apprehensive of attempts on his life, was excited to great alarm by this unexpected situation, and called out 'Treason!' His courteous host reassured him by pointing to an elegant pinnace moored by the moat to carry him ashore, in the event of his not wishing to return by the mine. Doubtless the affair added a little zest to the banquet which the party immediately after partook of in the hospitable mansion of Bruce.

The king pursued his progress by Glasgow, Paisley, Hamilton, and Dumfries, passing across the Border to Carlisle on the 5th of August, amidst the general regrets of his subjects. It was remarkable how much peace and good feeling prevailed amongst the people during the royal visit.

1618.

June 11.—The Privy Council was informed of 'an abuse lately taken up by a number of young boys and pages, servants to noblemen, barons, and gentlemen.' It was represented that these persons, 'whenever they fund ony boy newly enterit in service, or pagerie, as they term it, lay hands upon him, and impose upon him [the payment of] some certain pieces of gold, to be spent in drinking, riot, and excess, for receiving of him in their society and brotherheid.' It was further alleged that, 'if ony of thir new enterit boys refuse to condescend to them in this point, they do then shamefully misuse them, awaiting all occasions to harm and disgrace them;' so that many open disturbances were the consequence. The Council issued a

proclamation against these practices, threatening heavy punishment to all who might be guilty of the like in future.—*P. C. R.*

June.—The king's declaration regarding sports on the Sunday and other holy-days came to Edinburgh. The king willed that no lawful recreation be barred to the people—'such as dancing, either men or women; archery for men, leaping, vaulting . . . . nor from having of May-games, Whitsun-ales, and Morris-dances, and the setting up of May-poles;' seeing, however, that no one was allowed so to indulge who had not previously attended service in church.

It is manifest from the church-registers of that time that the universal external observance of the Sunday as a Sabbath, for which Scotland has long been remarkable, was not yet established. In August 1628, the minister of Carstairs regretted to the presbytery of Lanark the breach of the Sabbath 'by the insolent behaviour of men and women in footballing, dancing, and barley-breaks.' About the same time, two tailors were libelled before the same court for working on Sunday. Such things could not have happened a few years later, or at any time since.

July.—A mysterious affair occupied the attention of the state officers. While the servants of one Kennedy, a notary, residing in Galloway, were 'filling muck in beir-seed time,' they had found a withered human hand amongst some dung. No person having lately been murdered or missed in the country, it was impossible to tell whence this severed member had come, or to whom it had belonged. Kennedy, who had lately come to the house, professed to know nothing of the matter. It seemed to him that the hand had been there many years. This affair might have passed over with little notice, if it had not been followed up by a series of marvellous occurrences. As his wife was sitting with some gossips at supper in her husband's absence, some blood was observed upon the candlestick, and afterwards some more matter resembling gore was found on the threshold of the cellar door. It was also stated that, as Kennedy was

walking one day with the minister, near the parish church, some drops of blood were seen upon the grass. All these things being reported to the authorities in Edinburgh, they gave orders for Kennedy's apprehension, and he was accordingly brought thither, and kept six weeks in the Tolbooth. When examined, he could assign no cause for the above facts, but 'complained that his cattle and horses had died in great number, and that his wife had long been vexed with extraordinary sickness; all which he ascribed to witchcraft used against them.' It being impossible to bring anything home against the man, he was dismissed.—*M. S. P.*

Aug. 29.—Mr John Guthrie, minister of Perth, 'on ane Sunday after the afternoon's sermon, married the Master of Sanquhar with Sir Robert Swift's daughter, ane English knight in Yorkshire. Neither of the parties exceeded thirteen years of age.'—*Chron. Perth.*

Nov. 18.—'About the midst of November, there appeared a prodigious comet in the morning, in the north-east, broad, and stretching with a large tail towards the north-west. It appeared fine and clear some few days in the beginning, and after became more dim and obscure, and vanished away at last in the north. This comet by appearance portended the wars of Germany, which began not long after, and continueth yet to this hour.'—*Cal.*

Dr Bembridge, 'a very profound and learned mathematician,' obliged the king with an account of this comet. He told him it was as far above the moon as the moon is above the earth, and not less than 2,300,000 English miles! Rushworth speaks of it as followed by, first, the Bohemian wars, then the German and Swedish, &c. 'Dr Bembridge observed it to be vertical to London, and to pass over it in the morning; so it gave England and Scotland in their civil wars a sad wipe with its tail.'—*Foun. Hist. Ob.*

This notable comet was observed in Silesia, Rome, and Ispahan. From Skipton's observations, Halley afterwards com-

puted its orbit. It passed its perihelion on the 8th of November, at little more than a third of the earth's distance from the sun. On the 9th of December, its tail was 70° in length, being, according to Kepler, the longest that had been seen for a hundred and fifty years.

This comet is also remarkable as the only one, besides another in 1607, which was observable by the naked eye in the first half of the seventeenth century; whereas in other spaces of time of the same extent, as many as thirteen have been detected. The comet of 1607, which is the same with that seen in 1682, 1759, and 1835, and usually known as Halley's comet, is not mentioned by any of our contemporary chroniclers as having been visible in Scottish skies.

Dec. 25.—Christmas was observed in Edinburgh at the command of the king, and two churches opened for service; but the attendance was scant. 'The Great Kirk was not half filled, notwithstanding the provost, bailies, and council's travels. . . . . The dogs were playing in the flure of the Little Kirk, for rarity of people, and these were of the meaner sort. . . . . Mr Patrick [Galloway] denounced judgments . . . . famine of the word, deafness, blindness, lameness, inability to come to the kirk to hear and see, to fall upon those who came not to his Christmas sermon.'—*Cal.*

1619.

March 23.—It had been a custom of the congregations in Edinburgh to hold a meeting on the Tuesday before the administration of the communion. 'If anything was amiss in the lives, doctrines, or any part of the office of their pastors, every man had liberty to show wherein they were offended; and if anything was found amiss, the pastors promised to amend it. If they had anything likewise to object against the congregation, it was likewise heard, and amendment was promised. If there was any variance among neighbours, pains were taken to make reconciliation, that so both pastors and people might communicate in love at the banquet of love.' On the present occasion, the affair had much the character of a modern public meeting,

and the people stood boldly up to their pastors, arguing against the innovations of worship now about to be introduced, particularly kneeling at the sacrament.—*Cal.*

The period at which we have now arrived, being one of internal peace, is distinguished as the time when the practice of several of the useful arts was first introduced into Scotland. Sir George Hay, the Clerk Registrar—ancestor of the Earls of Kinnoull—a man of talent and intelligence, had set up, at the village of Wemyss, in Fife, a small glasswork, being the first known to have existed amongst us. An ironwork, of what nature we are not informed, was also originated by Sir George.

July 22.—The Privy Council informed the king that Sir George Hay had enterprisingly set up works for iron and glass, which for some years he supported at high charges, in hopes of being remunerated by profits. 'But now he has found, by experience, that all the country dispatch of his glass in ane haill year will not uphold his glassworks the space of ane month.' It was entreated that the king would allow of Sir George's glass being sold unrestrainedly in England, and at the same time restrict the exportation of coal into that country. By such means he admitted he had a hope of thriving.—*M. S. P.*

It would appear that the native manufacture, after all, prospered; for in February 1621, the Privy Council appointed a commission, including Sir George Hay, to meet and confer anent the glassworks, to examine and try the glass, and see that measures were taken for the full supply of the country, so as to save the introduction of foreign glass.

The commission soon after reported that the glassworks at Wemyss were going on satisfactorily. The cradles or cases contained fifteen wisps, each wisp having three tables, three-quarters of a Scots ell and a nail in depth. The glass was fully as good as Danskine glass, though they could wish it to be 'thicker and tewcher.' Being less sure of the character of the drinking-glasses produced, they recommended patterns of English glass of that kind to be established in Edinburgh Castle, for trying the sufficiency of Scots glass in all time coming. On

the strength of this report, the Council granted the desired monopoly as against foreign glassmakers, on certain conditions, one of which was, that the price of 'braid glass' should not exceed 'twelve punds the cradle.'—*P. C. R.*

Oct. 20.—Before this time, soap was imported into Scotland from foreign countries, chiefly from Flanders. The king now gave a patent to Mr Nathaniel Uddart for the manufacture of soap within the country, and Mr Nathaniel accordingly raised a goodly work at Leith, furnishing it with all matters pertaining to the business. Before he had been at work two years (June 21, 1621), he petitioned the Privy Council that foreign soap should be prohibited, professing to be able himself to furnish all that was required for the use of the country-people, and thus save money from being sent out of the country—a piece of false political economy much in favour, as we have seen, in those days. The Privy Council, after taking some pains to ascertain the character of 'Mr Nathaniel his soap,' and becoming convinced that he could furnish the quantity needful, granted the prohibition requested, but not without fixing down the native manufacturer at a maximum price. This was decreed to be £24 per barrel for 'green soap,' and £32 per barrel for 'white soap,' each barrel to contain sixteen stone.

1620.

Horse-racing was, from an early time, practised as a public amusement at various places in Scotland. One of these, not formerly noticed, was Paisley. A silver bell of four ounce weight was made in 1608 to serve as a prize for the Paisley race: such was in those days the accustomed prize at a race, giving rise to the proverbial expression—'He bore off the bell.' It may be remarked, however, that the winner of a silver bell at a race did not obtain it as permanent property, but only for a year's keeping, as is customary with the silver arrows and silver clubs now played for by archery and golfing societies.

June.—The tanning of leather may be said to have been

introduced into Scotland at this time. About a dozen tanners from Durham, Morpeth, and Chester-le-Street were brought in, under royal patronage, in order 'to instruct the tanners and barkers of the kingdom in the true and perfect form of tanning.' They were invested with certain privileges, and distributed to various parts of the kingdom. It was hoped through this means that much money which was usually spent on foreign leather would now be kept within the kingdom.

Unfortunately for the success of this reformation, a tax was put upon the leather—four shillings Scots per hide for the first twenty-one years, and thereafter one penny. The consequence was a grievous discontent among the cordwainers, who everywhere did what in them lay to thwart his majesty's design. 'To steir the people up to exclaim against it, they have very extraordinarily raised the prices of boots and shoon to twenty shillings [Scots] or thereby the pair of boots, and six shillings or thereby the pair of shoon, more nor was paid before;' thus oppressing the whole country, and particularly the poorer sort of people, besides slandering the king and his Council. In January 1622, the Privy Council dealt with a complaint that many of the tanners throughout the country, disregarding the obvious benefit to themselves and the commonwealth from the new modes, continued the old practice of letting their leather remain but a short time in the pots, and then bringing it to market in a raw state. By way of a caution to these persons, a certain number of them were proclaimed rebels.

We find it noted that in this year a pearl was found in the burn of Kellie, a tributary of the Ythan, Aberdeenshire, so large and beautiful that it was esteemed the best that had at any time been found in Scotland. Sir Thomas Menzies, provost of Aberdeen, obtaining this precious jewel, went to London to present it to the king, who, in requital, 'gave him twelve or fourteen chalder of victual about Dunfermline, and the custom of merchant goods in Aberdeen during his life.' It has been reported that this pearl was inserted in the apex of the crown of Scotland.

Apparently this circumstance called the king's attention to the old repute of certain Scottish rivers for the production of pearls. In January 1621, we find the Privy Council adverting to the fact, that the seeking for pearls had for many years been left to interlopers, who pursued their vocation at unseasonable times, and thus damaged the fishery, to the hurt of his majesty's interest, he having an undoubted right to all pearls, as he had to all precious metals found in his dominions. Being now inclined to take up pearl-seeking on his own account, he issued a proclamation for the preservation of 'the waters wherein the pearls do breed;' and took measures to have the fishery conducted on a regular plan, 'no pearls to be socht or taken but at such times and seasons of the year when they are at their chief perfection both of colour and quality, whilk will be in the months of July and August yearly.' The Privy Council commissioned three gentlemen to protect the rivers, and 'nominat expert and skilful men to fish for pearls at convenient seasons;' one gentleman for the rivers of Sutherland, another for those of Ross, and another (Mr Patrick Maitland of Auchincroch) for the waters Ythan and Don.

In more recent times, there has occasionally been successful fishing for pearls in the north, it being said that 'about the middle of the last century, a gentleman in Aberdeen got £100 for a lot of pearls found in the Ythan.' The mouth of the river has a great mussel and cockle fishery, and is accordingly the haunt of an extraordinary variety and quantity of sea-fowl. In summer, when the water is low, school-boys often amuse themselves by going in search of pearls, feeling with their toes for the shell, which is distinguished by its curved shape, and gripping it when found with a kind of forceps at the end of a long stick.

1621.

Feb. 6.—The church historian Calderwood notes the occurrence of three fires in Edinburgh in one day as being regarded by the people as 'foretokenings of some mischief.' 'About the same time,' he adds, 'there came in a great whale at Montrose, which was also apprehendit to be a forerunner of some trouble.'

Mar. 1.—On a complaint that coal had risen to eight shillings the load, the Privy Council had interfered in the usual rash manner, and dictated a certain maximum price to be exacted for the article; namely, seven shillings the load—that is, horse-load; for coal was borne at this time, and for a long time after, on horseback. Certain coal-proprietors—Alexander, Master of Elphinstone; Samuel Johnston of Elphinstone; Sir James Richardson of Smeaton; Robert Richardson of Pencaitland; Jonet Lawson, Lady Fawside; and David Preston of Whitehill—now petitioned, setting forth that the cost of mining coal had greatly risen of late years, and that the dearth of the article to the public was much owing to the base fellows who act as carriers of coals. It was represented that some of the proprietors of 'coal-heughs' were £10,000, and some even £20,000 out of pocket. The Master of Elphinstone's coal of Little Fawside had been on fire for several years; another mine of the same owner had caused an outlay of £8000. The Smeaton pits had been so unproductive for some years as scarcely to supply the laird's house. The coal of Elphinstone had proved for nine years barren, and 20,000 merks had been sunk upon it, being more than it promised ever to repay. The coal of Mickle Fawside had undone the late laird's estate, and 'made him to sell ane part of his auld heritage:' what with fire on the one hand and water on the other, it was a hopeless case. As for the coal of Pencaitland, it was wasted and decayed, past hope of recovery, but at such extraordinary charges as it was not worth having bestowed upon it. The basis of the evils complained of lay with the coal-carriers, who dealt fraudulently with the public. Had the particulars been rightly known, the Lords, it was assumed, would never have given a decreet against the complainers, 'who are gentlemen of grit charge and burden,' overlooking the faults of those base fellows who carry coals.

The Lords appointed a commission to inquire into the matter, and report what prices they thought ought to be fixed for this necessary article. In consequence of a report soon after given in by this commission, it was ordained that the price of coal at 'the hill' should be 7*s.* 8*d.* ($7\frac{2}{3}d.$ sterling) per load; and it was

at the same time agreed that a measure for the load and a charge for carriage should afterwards be appointed.—*P. C. R.*

On the 23d April 1623, an act of Privy Council was passed in favour of Samuel Johnston, laird of Elphinstone, in consideration of his having super-expended 20,000 merks on his coal-heughs, 'to his great hurt and apparent wrack.' It was stated that he had entertained forty families of men, wives, and children at the work, whose weekly charges exceeded two hundred merks. His coal would be lost and these work-people thrown on the world, if some remedy were not provided, as he could no longer strive with the adverse circumstances in which he was placed. On the other hand, if the work could be held forward and got into proper order, it might be 'a gangand coal' for a hundred years to come.

The Council, in consideration of the losses sustained by the laird, and to save so many poor people from being thrown out of employment, granted him what he asked as a remedy—namely, a license to export coal for seven years.

It follows from the laird's statement that the average weekly gains of a collier's family reached five merks, or about 5*s.* 6*d.* sterling.

May.—'About this time there was a great earthquake in the town of Montrose and thereabouts, to the great terror of the inhabitants, so that many fled out of the town. Some was slain with the thunder there.'—*Cal.*

June.—Some foreign vessels trading for coal and salt having been shipwrecked, during the severe storms of the past winter, on the 'blind craigs' (that is, concealed rocks) in the Firth of Forth, it was proposed, by the enterprising coal and salt proprietor, Sir George Bruce, that he should be allowed to erect beacons at those dangerous spots, and reimburse himself by a small tax on the foreign vessels frequenting the Firth during the ensuing year. Hearing of this proposal, the other coal-proprietors in Fife and the Lothians felt that they were much

concerned, seeing that 'no stranger-ships come that way but either for coal or salt,' and they considered that 'the payment of this duty wald carry with it a very great reproach and scandal to the country, as if such a small piece of work in the most eminent river in the kingdom could not be gotten done without the contribution and help of strangers.' For these reasons, they themselves undertook to set up the required beacons.—*M. S. P.*

This movement may be regarded as another mark of the enlightened attention now beginning to be paid to things in which the material interests of the people were concerned. How far the proposal of Sir George Bruce was carried out we do not learn; but the probability is that he did not allow his plan to fall asleep. It bears out our view of the spirit beginning to manifest itself in Scotland, that the royal burghs, a few years later (September 1631), contemplated having lights erected on the Isle of May in the mouth of the Firth of Forth, and on 'the Skairheids' (*P. C. R.*); and soon after, one was actually put upon the May, being the first known to have been formed in connection with the Scottish coasts, and for generations a solitary example on those of the island generally. A Fife laird, Alexander Cunningham of Barns—a relative, it would appear, of the wife of the poet Drummond—had the merit of establishing this useful protection for shipping. Obtaining the proper authority from Charles I., he, in 1635, erected on the isle 'a tower forty feet high, vaulted to the top, and covered with flag-stones, whereon, all the year over,' says Sir Robert Sibbald, writing in the reign of Charles II., 'there burns in the night-time a fire of coals for a light; for which the masters of ships are obliged to pay for each ton two shillings [twopence sterling]. This showeth light,' he adds, 'to all the ships coming out of the Firths of Forth and Tay, and to all places between St Abb's Head and Redcastle near Montrose.'

Through a natural antagonism, we may suppose, between the powers of darkness and the interest here concerned, the architect of the May light-tower was drowned on his return from the isle in a storm, believed to have been raised by

witches, who were in consequence burnt. The fire was duly kept burning by the successors of Cunningham till the erection of a regular lighthouse on modern principles by the Commissioners of Northern Lights. It required three hundred and eighty tons of *Wemyss coal* annually, that kind being selected on account of the clearness of its flame. In 1790, the tack or lease of this privileged light, with its tax of three-halfpence a ton on Scottish, and threepence on foreign shipping, rose from £280 to £960, and in 1800 it was let at £1500; 'a striking proof,' as has been remarked, 'of the increase of the trade of this country' during the period.

Aug. 4.—This was a day of great concern and sorrow to the earnest Presbyterians of Scotland, as on it the parliament sitting at Edinburgh ratified the Five Articles introducing Episcopalian fashions into the church. At the moment when the commissioner, the Marquis of Hamilton, rose to apply the sceptre to the bills, thus giving them symbolically the royal assent, a flash of lightning burst into the house, followed by a second and a third, and these by loud thunder. A heavy darkness ensued. The discharge of rain was so great, that the ceremonial return to Holyroodhouse could not be effected, and all rushed home in confusion. The people, affected by these signs and wonders, called the day *Black Saturday*.

Oct. 12.—This day, Friday, commenced a remarkable flood in the Tay, which lasted for three or four days, and caused extensive destruction. The beautiful bridge, newly completed across the river at Perth, was swept away, excepting one arch only. In the middle of the second night, the water had risen so high, that the people living in low houses near the Castle Gavel Port in Perth, were obliged to remove to higher houses. The town was so environed with water, that no one could enter or leave it for several days. Children were let down from upper windows into boats, in order to be carried to places presumably safer. Household stuff and provisions were destroyed. The rain was accompanied by a violent wind from the east,

which would somewhat help to maintain the waters of the river at a high elevation. The water flowed in the High Street and the Speygate 'like mill-sluices;' and one Charles Rollock became a distinguished public benefactor by going about in a boat through those streets and rescuing people who were in danger of drowning—a service for which he afterwards received a double angel (20*s.* sterling) in recompense.

The people were thrown into a state of extreme consternation, looking for nothing but the entire destruction of their fair city. 'Whereupon Mr John Malcolm, minister, powerfully endued with God's spirit, caused ring the preaching-bell on Sunday at seven hours in the morning, and the haill inhabitants came to the kirk. And there he exhorted them to repent of their sins, which had provoked the said judgment of God to come upon the city; assuring them that if they were truly penitent therefor, and would avow to God to amend their lives in time coming, God would avert his judgment, and give them deliverance. The like humiliation of men and women has not been seen within Perth before. Fasting, preaching, and praying continued all that week.'—*Session Register of Perth.* One of the remarks current among the more serious class of people on this occasion was, that the inundation was sent as a judgment on Perth, on account of the five Episcopalian articles passed there by the General Assembly three years before.

It is remarkable that, though there had been a bridge across the Tay at Perth so early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, the structure now destroyed was not replaced till the erection of the present beautiful fabric in 1771, the intercourse during the intermediate hundred and fifty years being maintained by ferry-boats.

1622.

June 3.—'. . . . there was a fiery dragon, both great and long, appeared to come from the south to the north, spouting fire from her, half an hour after the going to of the sun.'—*Cal.*

July.—An act of Privy Council of this date aims at a restric-

tion of the importation of wine into the Western Islands—'with the insatiable desire whereof the said islanders are so far possest, that when there arrives ony ship or other vessel there with wines, they spend both days and nights in their excess of drinking, sae lang as there is any of the wine left; sae that, being overcome with drink, there falls out mony inconvenients amangs them, to the break of his majesty's peace.'—Gregory's *History of the Western Highlands.*

July 30.—The Privy Council had the subject of that 'infective weed callit tobacco' under their attention. The king had formerly, upon good reasons of policy, forbidden its importation into the country; but this decree had been sadly evaded, insomuch that 'the country was ever universally filled with tobacco, and public and common merchandise made of the same.' Then his majesty had tried the restraining effect of a duty (20*s.* Scots or 1*s.* 8*d.* English per pound); but the tobacco-merchants had learned the trick of smuggling, and it was not likely they would let it lie unfruitful when they could thereby save the payment of a tax. It had now, accordingly, become necessary to impose a new restraint; and the importation was again prohibited under pain of the goods being confiscated to his majesty's use. —*P. C. R.*

An act of the Privy Council in the subsequent November explained that the king did not mean by this restraint 'to deprive his loving subjects of the orderly sale and moderate use of tobacco,' but only to prevent the abuse or excessive use of the herb. The prejudice of King James against tobacco was a strong feeling, partaking much of the character of antipathy. He published anonymously, and afterwards acknowledged the quaint pamphlet, *A Counterblast to Tobacco*, in which he argues against the use of the herb as a physical as well as moral corruption.

If a tradition existing in 1667 is to be believed, King James was fain on one occasion to get over his antipathy to tobacco, but, to be sure, the compelling cause was a powerful one. 'The smoke of it' [tobacco], says a writer of that date, 'is one of the

wholesomest scents that is against all contagious airs, for it o'ermasters all other smells, as King James, they say, found true, when being once hunting, *a shower of rain drove him into a pigsty for shelter*, where he caused a pipeful to be taken on purpose.'

1623.

Jan.—'Lord Colville took journey to France, to crave the re-establishment of the Scots Guard and Company of Scottish Men at Arms, according to their first institution and the French king's promise often made to that effect.'—*Bal.*

The Scots Guard of the French king was an old institution, and for a long time past the command had passed from generation to generation of the Sieurs D'Aubigné (Earls and Dukes of Lennox). Louis XIII. readily agreed to the proposed revival of the corps, and designed to confer the command on Ludovick, Duke of Richmond and Lennox, the favourite councillor of King James. It chanced, however, that the duke was suddenly cut off by apoplexy (February 1624), 'beloved and lamented' beyond all remembered example, 'because he was naturally inclined to do good without distinction of persons.'—*G. H. S.* The honour was therefore transferred to his nephew, Lord Gordon, son of the Marquis of Huntly.

In July 1625, Lord Gordon made his first muster of the corps on the Links of Leith, in presence of several officers deputed by the French king for that purpose. These gentlemen had been conducted to Edinburgh by Sir Robert Gordon, Tutor of Sutherland; they were there entertained in the handsomest manner by the Lord Gordon and other nobles, 'and sent home again to their master, the French king, in great satisfaction and content.' Lord Gordon's younger brother, Lord Melgum, was his lieutenant; and the first gentleman of the company was Sir William Gordon, son of George Gordon of Kindroch, a branch of the family of Pitlurg.—*G. H. S.*

June 20.—'. . . . the king's picture in the hall of the palace of Linlithgow fell . . . . and brake in pieces. The like befell

the king of France's picture, in that same place, six weeks before his death.'—*Cal.*

Such incidents were then invariably noted with superstitious awe. Aubrey tells us that on the first day of the sitting of the Long Parliament, the picture of Archbishop Laud fell in his closet by the breaking of the string.

During the earlier half of this year, Scotland suffered under a famine of extreme severity. There was a vast increase to the usually inordinate number of beggars, in consequence of many of the poorer class of tenants throwing their farms into the hands of their landlords and wandering forth in search of food. The Privy Council therefore took measures for bringing the principal men together in their respective county towns to arrange for a taxation according to means and substance, in order to procure victual for the poor. A hundred merks for every thousand pounds of substance was the rate recommended.

In July, the famine 'increased daily, till at last many, both in burgh and land, died of hunger. Many poor came to Edinburgh for succour, of which number some died in the streets.' A fast was held on account of the calamity; 'the sermons began every day in the week at seven hours, and ended at nine. Immediately after the fast was ended, that same night, 7th of July, there was such a fire in the heaven, with thunder and fire-flaught, that the hearers and beholders thought verily that the day of judgment was come.'—*Cal.*

July 15.—While the Egyptians were everywhere a proscribed race, and often the victims of indiscriminate severity, there was one spot where mercy and even kindness seems to have been extended to them. This was Roslin. Sir William Sinclair of Roslin, Lord Justice-general under Queen Mary, riding home one day from Edinburgh, found a poor Egyptian about to be hanged on the gibbet at the Burgh-moor, and brought him off unharmed. In remembrance of this kindness, 'the whole body of gipsies were accustomed to gather in the stanks [marshes] of Roslin

every year, where they acted several plays during the months of May and June.' So tells us the quaint Father Hay, a connection of the Roslin family; and he adds: 'There are two towers which were allowed them for their residence, the one called Robin Hood, the other Little John.'

At the time noted, the Privy Council had their attention called to this Patmos of the outlawed race, whereupon they issued an order to the sheriff of the district, who happened to be Sinclair younger of Roslin himself, commanding him 'to pass, search, seek, hunt, follow, and pursue the said vagabond thieves and limmers,' and bring them to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh for due punishment.—*P. C. R.*

An order for the execution of a number of Egyptians was actually issued on the ensuing 27th of January.

Nov. 30.—'. . . . about nine hours at night, there appeared like a rainbow in the west, the moon shining clearly in the east, with some rain in the meantime, whereat many wondered.'—*Cal.*

1624.

Jan.—From Martinmas of the preceding year to the end of January in the present, there was a hard continuous frost, which, after a slight thaw, was resumed, and lasted till the 23d of February. During this time, 'eleven carts, with twenty-one puncheons of wine, came over upon the ice from Dundee here.' —*Chron. Perth.*

Feb. 18.—The Town Council of Aberdeen had occasion to consider an abuse which had lately crept into their burgh, in the form of 'costly banqueting at the baptising of bairns,' and the 'convocating of great numbers of people thereto.' It is mentioned that on these occasions there were 'all sorts of succours [sugars], confections, spiceries, and dessert, brought from foreign parts, beside great superfluity of venison, and wild meat of all sorts . . . and withal, extraordinary drinking and scolling [health-drinking] . . . to the slander of the town, in sic a calamitous time, when God is visiting the whole land with

dearth and famine, and mony poor anes [are] dying and starving at dykes and under stairs for cauld and hunger.'

The Council ordained that hereafter no person of whatever degree should have 'mae than four gossips and four cummers at the maist' at their baptisms, that not more than six women be invited 'to convoy the bairn to and frae the kirk,' and that twelve should be the utmost amount of company present 'at the dinner, supper, or afternoon's drink.' All extravagances at table were at the same time strictly forbidden.

Nov. 28.—The pest, which had been for some time before in Holland, broke out 'in sundry houses in Edinburgh, to the great terror of the whole town. It began in Paul Hay[1] a merchant's house, a month before, and was not known till now; therefore the more dangerous, because hard to discern the clean from the unclean. Upon the last day of November, the president and other lords of Council and Session, meeting together, resolve to rise, and continue the session till the 8th of Januar.' —*Cal.*

Deeming, as was formerly remarked, anything that illustrates the progress of the arts as worthy of notice in this record, though perhaps trifling in itself, we may advert to Mr Alexander Hamilton, brother to the secretary Earl of Melrose, as having now obtained a patent of twenty-one years for a new *cart* invented by him, 'wherein greater weight and burdens may with far less force be drawn, and conveniently carried, than hath been done with ony other kind of cart hitherto known or heretofore used.'—*P. C. R.*

In this year we have the latest known notice of a woman of extraordinary attainments who had lived for many years in Edinburgh, practising an art in which she was long after pronounced to have never been excelled. Caligraphy, or the art of beautiful writing, was in greater vogue in the seventeenth century than in our more utilitarian days. Under what

1 'Wha had brought money with the infection from Danskein.'—*Chron. Perth.*

circumstances Esther Inglis, a Frenchwoman residing in the Scottish capital, came to give her days to so laborious an art, we do not learn. Neither are we aware how it was that Esther came to live in the Scottish capital. There, however, we find her, so early as 1599, writing one of the little manuscript volumes which have given her celebrity. This book, preserved in the Bodleian Library, is entitled *Les Proverbes de Salomon, escrites en diverses sortes de Lettres par Esther Anglois Françoise. À Lislesbourg en Écosse*, 1599. 'This delicate performance,' says an old writer, 'gains the admiration of all who see it; every chapter is wrote in a different hand; as is the dedication, and some other things at the beginning of the book, which makes near forty several sorts of hands. The beginnings and endings of the chapters are adorned with most beautiful head and tail pieces, and the margins are elegantly decorated with the pen, in imitation, I suppose, of the beautiful old manuscripts. The book is dedicated to the Earl of Essex, Queen Elizabeth's great favourite.' A copy of the French Psalms, written by her, and presented to Queen Elizabeth, is in the library of Christ Church, Oxford. There is also in the Bodleian a manuscript of hers. The latest known of Esther's works is a volume preserved in the Royal Library, *Esther Inglis's Fifty Emblems*, dated at Edinburgh 1624.

When the king was at Stirling, Esther's son presented to him a little book entitled *Sidus Celeste*, and he experienced some of James's good-natured patronage in consequence. In June 1620, Esther is found addressing the king in behalf of this son, who, having completed a school-course, 'would gladly follow theology.' But 'as Dædalus was not able to free himself of his imprisonment in the isle Creta but by the help of wings made of pens and wax, even so my son is not able to free himself of inability to effectuate this his affection but by the wings of your majesty's letter, composed by pen and wax, through which he may wing his flight happily to some fellowship, either in Cambridge or Oxford, as occasion sall fall out.' If so far favoured by his majesty, 'I may have my tossed mind relieved of the great care I have perpetually for this said youth.'—*An. Scot.*

Ballard states, on the authority of a memorandum of Hearne, the antiquary, that Esther Inglis was married to a Scotsman, named Bartholomew Kello, and had a son, named Samuel Kello, who was educated at Christ Church College, Oxford, and was afterwards minister at Speckshall, in Suffolk.

1625.

Mar. 30.—The news of the death of King James—which occurred on the 27th of March—reached Edinburgh on the 30th at the outbreak of a storm of extraordinary violence which raged along the whole coast, destroying much shipping and throwing down several harbours. 'The water raise above the harbour of Leith, and ran into the houses of the town; yea, the boats and barks within the same floated so above the shore, that some of them were cast away upon the sides of the houses; and great ships therein could not be keepit, with all their anchors and cables, from doing great skaith, ilk ane to ane other, whereof the like was never heard tell of in our days.'—*Jo. H.*

Stirling Castle.

Reign of Charles the First.

1625–1637.

JAMES I. was peaceably succeeded on the throne by his son Charles I., then in the twenty-fifth year of his age. The administration of Scottish affairs continued to be conducted by the Privy Council in Edinburgh. For the endowment of the Episcopal Church now established, the king (1625) attempted a revocation of the church-lands from the lay nobles and others into whose hands they had fallen; but this excited so strong a spirit of resistance, that he was obliged to give it up. He ended by issuing (1627) a commission to receive the surrender of impropriated tithes and benefices, and out of these and the superiorities of the church-lands, to increase the provisions of the clergy. These proceedings, though legal, were unpopular. The nobles, alarmed for their property, began to lean towards the middle and humbler classes, who objected to a hierarchy on religious grounds solely. While all was smooth on the surface, a strong spirit of discontent ran through society. The more zealous Presbyterians formed the habit of meeting in private houses for prayer and worship. They beheld with apprehension the tendency to medieval ceremonies which Charles and his favourite councillor Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, were manifesting in England.

The king paid a visit to Scotland in 1633, in order to be crowned as its sovereign, and to see what further could be done for perfecting the Episcopal system. His reception was respectful, but not so affectionate as that experienced by his father.

One thing Charles had long considered as necessary to complete his favourite project in Scotland—the introduction of a liturgy into the ordinary worship. He thought the proper time was now come, because he everywhere saw external obedience. A service-book

being accordingly prepared by Laud, on the basis of that commonly used in England, an order of Privy Council was given for its being read in the churches. This was precisely what was necessary to exhaust the popular powers of endurance. It seemed to the multitude as if popery, almost undisguised, were once more about to be introduced. When the dreaded book was opened in St Giles's Church (July 1637), the congregation rose in violent agitation to protest against it. It was hooted as a mass in disguise, and a stool was thrown at the head of the reader. Similar scenes occurred elsewhere; but the clergy in general had declined to bring the book forward. The state-officers and bishops now found themselves objects of popular hate to such an extent that they could not present themselves in public. The service-book was not merely a failure in itself, but it had produced a kind of rebellion. Charles discovered, when too late, that, as usually happens with men of headstrong temper, the truth had been concealed from him. The general obedience had been a hypocrisy. Nineteen-twentieths of the people were in their hearts opposed to his measures, and now he had given them occasion to declare themselves and enter at all hazards upon a course of resistance.

1625.

May.—The town-council of Aberdeen at this time anticipated the wisdom and good manners of a later age, by ordaining that 'no person should, at any public or private meeting, presume to compel his neighbour, at table with him, to drink more wine or beer than what he pleased, under the penalty of forty pounds.' —*Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen.*

July 20.—By the royal command, a fast was held throughout Scotland, in consequence of the heavy rains which had prevailed since the middle of May, threatening the destruction of the fruits of the earth. It was a time of calamity. The marriage of the king to the Princess Henrietta Maria of France (June 16th), had of course brought the mass into London, and 'no sooner was the queen's mass, the plague of the soul, received, than a raging pestilence broke out in the city of London and parts adjoining, which in a short time cut off above 40,000 persons.'—*Stevenson's Hist. C. Scot.*

Oct.—A taxation was granted to the king by the Scottish parliament, amounting to £40,000 Scots. Some of the burghs came to an agreement with the Lords of the Privy Council for certain proportions of this taxation, to be paid annually while it continued; and we are thus supplied with a means of estimating the comparative importance and wealth of some of the principal towns in the kingdom. We find the following towns set down, with the annexed sums at their names: Glasgow, £815, 12*s.* 6*d.*; Linlithgow, £163, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Stirling, £422, 17*s.* 9*d.*; St Andrews, £490; Dunbar, £90, 15*s.*; Culross, £84, 10*s.*; Canongate, £100; Hamilton, 100 merks.

1626.

June 15.—'Betwixt the hours of eight and nine in the morning, there appeared a phenomenon in the open firmament, which was looked on by many as a presage of some future calamity. The sun shining bright, there appeared, to the view of all people, as it were three suns; one be-east, and the other south-be-west the true sun, and in appearance not far from it. From that which lay south-west, there proceeded a luminary in the form of a horn, that pointed north-west, and carried as it were a rainbow, in colour gray, but clearer than the rest of the sky. Whether these signs were ominous or not, manifold were the calamities which then prevailed.'—*Stevenson's Hist. C. Scot.*

1627.

Oct. 10.—As the Privy Council was sitting in its chamber in Holyrood Palace, a singular outrage took place. One John Young, poultryman, attacked Mr Richard Bannatyne, bailie-depute of the regality of Broughton, at the council-room door, and struck him in the back with a whinger, to the peril of his life. The Council, in great indignation, immediately sent off Young to be tried on the morrow at the Tolbooth, with orders, 'if he be convict, that his majesty's justice and his depute cause doom to be pronounced against him, ordaining him to be drawn upon ane cart backward frae the Tolbooth to the place of execution at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh, and there hangit to the deid and quartered, and his head to be set upon the

Nether Bow, and his hand to be set upon the Water Yett.'—*P. C. R.*

The latter part of this year, marked by a military disaster and disgrace nearly unexampled in British annals,[1] was made further memorable by a tempest of extraordinary violence, which destroyed a vast quantity of mercantile shipping, including many collier vessels carrying their commodity to the Thames. At one part of the coast of Scotland, a high tide, assisted by the storm, produced an inundation over a large tract of low land. It came, says a contemporary writer, upon the Blackshaw in Carlaverock parish, and upon certain parts of the parish of Ruthwell, 'in such a fearful manner as none then living had ever seen the like. It went at least half a mile beyond the ordinary course, and threw down a number of houses and bulwarks in its way, and many cattle and other bestial were swept away with its rapidity; and, what was still more melancholy, of the poor people who lived by making salt on Ruthwell sands seventeen perished; thirteen of these were found next day, and were all buried together in the churchyard of Ruthwell, which no doubt was an affecting sight to their relations, widows, and children, &c., and even to all that beheld it. One circumstance more ought not to be omitted. The house of Old Cockpool being environed on all hands, the people fled to the top of it for safety; and so sudden was the inundation upon them, that, in their confusion, they left a young child in a cradle exposed to the flood, which very speedily carried away the cradle; nor could the tender-hearted beholders save the child's life without the manifest danger of their own. But, by the good providence of God, as the cradle, now afloat, was going forth of the outer door, a corner of it struck against the door-post, by which the other end was turned about; and, going across the door, it stuck there till the waters were assuaged.

'Upon the whole, that inundation made a most surprising devastation in those parts; and the ruin occasioned by it had

[1] The failure of the Duke of Buckingham's army to relieve Rochelle, and its shameful retreat from the Isle of Ré.

an agreeable influence on the surviving inhabitants, convincing them more than ever of what they owed to divine Providence; and for ten years thereafter, they had the holy communion about that time, and thereby called to mind even that bodily deliverance.'

Dec. 25.—There now being much anxiety about foreign invasion, some care was taken to ascertain the state of the national defences, and there was also a proposal to fortify various places, of which, it may be remarked, Leith was one. Sir John Stewart of Traquair had been sent to inquire into the condition of Dumbarton Castle, and now reported as follows: 'At his entry within the castle, he found only three men and a boy in ordinar guarding the same. The walls in the chief and most important parts were ruinous and decayed; the house wanting doors, locks, or bolts, and nather wind nor water tight; the ordnance unmounted, and little or no provision of victuals and munition (except some few rusty muskets) within the same.'

The description, it is to be feared, was generally characteristic. In those days, which we look back upon as so romantic, there was one thing wanting—revenue. In Scotland, owing to the poverty of the government, national buildings alternated between long periods of neglect and decay, and abrupt attempts at repair when there was a pressing need. As to the case of Dumbarton, Sir John Stewart was empowered to get it put into proper order, with a promise of reimbursement.—*P. C. R.*

1628.

Dec. 2.—George Lauder of the Bass, and his mother, 'Dame Isobel Hepburn, Lady Bass,' were at this time in embarrassed circumstances, 'standing at the horn at the instance of divers of their creditors.' Nevertheless, as was complained of them, 'they peaceably bruik and enjoy some of their rents, and remain within the craig of the Bass, presuming to keep and maintein themselves, so to elude justice and execution of the law.' A Scotch laird and his mother holding out against creditors in a tower on that inaccessible sea-rock, forms rather a striking picture to the imagination. But debt even then had

its power of exorcising romance. The Lords of Council issued a proclamation, threatening George Lauder and his mother with the highest pains if they did not submit to the laws. A friend then came forward and represented to the Lords 'the hard and desolate estate' of the two rebels, and obtained a protection for them, enabling them to come to Edinburgh to make arrangement for the settlement of their affairs.—*P. C. R.*

1629.

Jan. 26.—On this day—an unusual season for thunder in our climate—a 'thunder-clap' fell upon Castle-Kennedy, the seat of the Earl of Cassillis in Ayrshire—'which, falling into a room where there were several children, crushed some dogs and furniture; but happily the children escaped. From thence descending to a low apartment, it destroyed a granary of meal. At the same time, a gentleman in the neighbourhood had about thirty cows, that were feeding in the fields, struck dead by the thunder.'

May 14.—Died Jean Gordon, remarkable in our history as the lady whom James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, divorced in 1567, in order to be enabled to ally himself to Queen Mary. She survived that frightful time, in peace and honour, for sixty-two years, exemplifying how durable are calmness and prudence in comparison with passion and guilt. Since her separation from Bothwell, she had been the wife of two other husbands—first, Alexander, Earl of Sutherland; and second, the Laird of Boyne. The lady was buried in Dornoch Cathedral.

In the course of 1629, Isobel Young, spouse to George Smith, portioner in East Barns in Haddingtonshire, was burnt for witchcraft. She had been accused of both inflicting and curing diseases; and it appears that she and her husband had sent to the Laird of Lee to borrow his *curing-stone* for their cattle, which had the 'routing ill.' This is interesting as an early reference to the well-known *Lee Penny*, which is yet preserved in the family of Lockhart of Lee, being an ancient

precious stone or amulet, set in a silver penny. It is related that Lady Lee declined to lend the stone, but gave flagons of water in which the penny had been steeped. This water, being drunk by the cattle, was believed to have effected their cure.

One Alexander Hamilton was apprehended as a notorious warlock, and put into the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. He 'delated' four women of the burgh of Haddington, and five other women of its neighbourhood, as guilty of witchcraft. The Privy Council sent orders (November 1629) to have the whole Circean nine apprehended; and as their poverty made it inconvenient to bring them to Edinburgh, the presbytery of Haddington was enjoined to examine them in their own district. What was done with them ultimately, we are not informed. Another woman, named Katherine Oswald, residing at Niddry, near Edinburgh, was likewise accused by Hamilton, and taken into custody. This seems to have been considered an unusually important case, as four lawyers were appointed to act as assessors to the justices on her trial.—*P. C. R.* It was alleged of Katherine that she had that partial insensibility which was understood to be an undoubted proof of the witch quality. Two witnesses stated that they 'saw ane preen put in to the heid, by Mr John Aird, minister, in the panel's shoulder, being the devil's mark, and nae bluid following, nor she naeways shrinking thereat.'

Hamilton alleged that he had been with Katherine at a meeting of witches between Niddry and Edmonstone, where they met with the devil. It was also stated that she had been one of a witch-party who had met at Prestonpans, and used charms, on the night of the great storm at the end of March 1625. But the chief articles of her dittay bore reference to cures which she had wrought by sorcery. Katherine was convicted and burned.—*B. A.*

The warlock Alexander Hamilton also accused the Lady Home of Manderston, in Berwickshire, of having practised against the life of her husband, Sir George Home, by witchcraft. Patrick Abernethy, notar in Duns, and William Mowat, a servant, were accordingly cited by the Council to come and

give information regarding the case. The presence of Sir George himself was of course desirable; but Sir George, like many other good Scotch lairds, of that day and of later days, was under some danger of the law on account of his debts. It therefore became necessary to send him a protection, in order that he might be enabled to appear in the city. There does not seem to have been any other foundation for the charge than the fact that Sir George Home and his wife did not live on amicable terms.

Hamilton himself was tried (January 22, 1630), when it came out that he had begun his wicked career in consequence of meeting the devil in the form of a black man on Kingston Hills, in Haddingtonshire. Being engaged to serve the fiend, he was instructed to raise him by beating the ground thrice with a fir-stick and crying: 'Rise up, foul thief!' He had consequently had him up several times for consultations; sometimes in the shape of a dog or cat, sometimes in that of a crow. By diabolic aid, he had caused a mill full of corn, belonging to Provost Cockburn, to be burned, merely by taking three stalks from the provost's stacks and burning them on the Garleton Hills. He had been at many witch-meetings where the enemy of man was present. This wretched man was sentenced to be worried at a stake and burned.

In March 1631, occurred a case which throws some light upon the affair in which Sir George Home of Manderston was the intended victim. John Neill, in Tweedmouth, was then brought forward and tried for sorcery and witchcraft. It was alleged of him that 'he made a man's wife wash her husband's shirt in a south-running water, and then put it on him; whereupon he recovered.' He professed skill in both laying on and taking off diseases. Amongst other things laid to his charge was 'meeting with the devil and other witches on Coldingham Law, and consulting how Sir George Home of Manderston might be destroyed, to that end getting ane enchanted dead foal, and putting it in Sir George's stable, under his horse's manger, and putting a dead hand enchanted by the devil in Sir George's garden in Berwick; by which enchantments Sir George

contracted a grievous disease, of which he could not be recovered till the said foal and hand were discovered and burned.' He was found guilty.—*B. A.*

Lady Jean Drummond, only daughter of the Earl of Perth, was married to the Earl of Sutherland, with a portion of 5000 merks, 'the greatest portion that ever was given in Scotland before that time.'—*Hist. House of Seytoun.*

This notice may be held to imply that 5000 merks (£287, 17*s.* 4*d.*) was an uncommonly liberal portion for a woman of family in that age; but the writer is not correct in saying that it was unexampled till 1629. In 1583, Lady Anne Montgomery of Eglintoun brought her husband, Lord Semple, 6000 merks; and the dowry of Jean Hamilton, the vicar of Dunlop's daughter, in 1613, was 5000 merks.

Dec. 26.—In the fertile district between Falkirk and Stirling, there was a large moss with a little loch in the middle of it, occupying a piece of gradually rising ground; a highly cultivated district of wheat-land lay below. There had been a series of heavy rains, and the moss became overcharged with moisture. After some days, during which slight movements were visible on this quagmire, the whole mass began one night to leave its native situation and slide gently down to the lower grounds. The people who lived on these lands, receiving sufficient warning, fled and saved their lives; but in the morning light they beheld their little farms, sixteen in number, covered six feet deep with liquid moss, and hopelessly lost.

The singular nature of this calamity, and the sad case of the poor people who had by it lost their all, drew general attention. The Privy Councillors sent commissioners to the place to 'give order where and in what places draughts sall be casten, levels and passages made, and what else is fitting to be done, for securing the neighbouring lands from inundation and skaith.' There was also a general collection of money throughout the kingdom for the relief of the sufferers.—*P. C. R.*

1630.

Apr. 21.—John Hart, printer in Edinburgh, being about to bring out an edition of the Bible, the town-council gave him formal permission to take a new apprentice 'for the advancement of the said wark,' 'notwithstanding the time of three years be not past since he replaced an apprentice last;' 'providing always it sall not be lawful to him to tak and have ane other prentice before the expiring of six years.'—*Ed. Coun. Reg.*

May 29.—On the birth of the prince, afterwards Charles II., which took place between eleven and twelve this forenoon, the Lyon King at Arms was despatched by the king from London to carry the news to Scotland. The Lyon arrived in Edinburgh on the third day thereafter, June 1st, when immediately cannon were shot, bells rung, and a table spread in the High Street, between the cross and the Tron, for two hundred persons, including the nobility, Privy Council, and judges, the company being waited on by the heralds and trumpeters in their official dress.—*Bal.*

'In this May were five Saturdays, five Mondays, twa changes of the moon, twa eclipses of the sun, ane other of the moon, all in our horizon.'—*Chron. Perth.*

Sep. 23.—Susanna Chancellor, daughter of the Laird of Shieldhill, was accused before the presbytery of Lanark of consulting with charmers, and 'burying a child's clothes betwixt [three] lairds' lands, for health.' By penitently presenting herself on her knees before the reverend brethren, she was saved from the due punishment.—*R. P. L.*

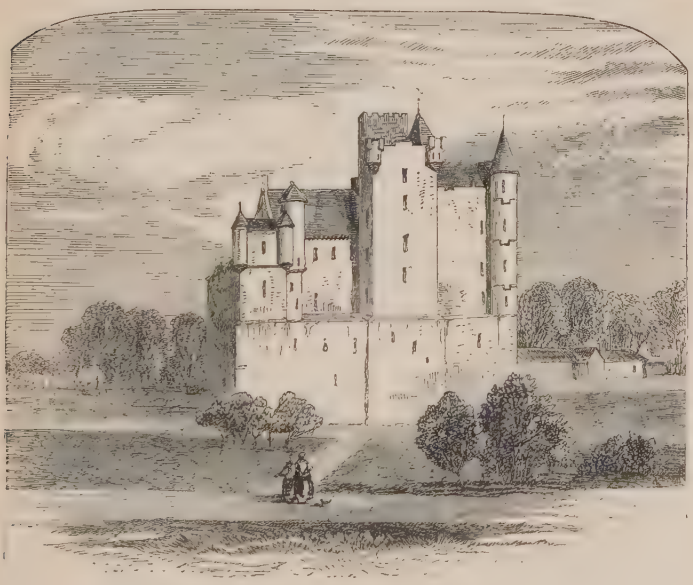
Oct.—At no great distance from the castle of Strathbogie—the modern Huntly—where the great marquis held state, dwelt two gentlemen of figure, Gordon of Rothiemay and Crichton of Frendraught. In consequence of a dispute about the salmon-fishings in the Doveran, these two gentlemen fell into

litigation and bad blood; and at length, finding Rothiemay obdurate, Frendraught had to get assistance from his neighbours to execute the laws upon his antagonist. On New-year's Day 1630, a bloody encounter took place between them, and Rothiemay was so severely wounded as to die three days after.

Frendraught could plead that he had been only carrying out the behests of the law against one who set legal rights and decrees at defiance. But the Marquis of Huntly and other Gordons felt that it was a hard thing for Rothiemay to lose his life on such an account, and Frendraught accordingly fell under their displeasure. The young Laird of Rothiemay, calling in the assistance of the outlaw James Grant, laid waste the lands of Frendraught, who was driven in succession to the Earl of Moray, the king, and the Privy Council for the protection of the laws. It was found necessary by the Council to send a commission to allay the heats which this affair had called forth. When Sir Robert Gordon and other commissioners arrived on the ground in May, they found James Grant and two hundred Highlanders assembled at Rothiemay, ready to lay waste Frendraught's estate with fire and sword; and it was with no small difficulty that they were stayed. Sir Robert, as a connection of both Frendraught and the Gordon family, was well qualified to bring about a reconciliation, and this he effected with the assistance of the Marquis of Huntly. It was arranged that Frendraught should purchase the forgiveness of the Rothiemay family by paying a sum of money. 'And so, all parties having shaken hands in the orchard of Strathbogie, they were heartily reconciled,' says Sir Robert in his gossiping History. One cannot but see in this mode of stilling quarrels an encouragement to new ones. Frendraught, having acted all along under law, ought to have been protected by the law, instead of thus having to pay a fine of fifty thousand merks (£2915) to buy off the vengeance of a family by whom the law was disregarded and broken. But in those days the law could only be executed by favour of the leading men of the country. These leading men had their passions and their

partialities. Sir Robert Gordon probably purchased Frendraught's safety on the best terms which, in the circumstances, could be obtained.

These circumstances form merely the introduction to a long series of disastrous mischances which befell the Laird of Frendraught, and which have made his name memorable in Scottish tradition. In the course of autumn, a gentleman named John



Bog an Gight Castle.

Meldrum, who had assisted him in the fray with Rothiemay, quarrelled with him for not being satisfactorily rewarded for his help on that occasion. To make matters right, this gentleman came and took two horses from Frendraught's lands! Frendraught, hearing that the culprit was harboured by a brother-in-law, Leslie of Pitcaple, came thither to seek back his property; but the encounter only led to one of his friends wounding a son of Pitcaple with a pistol-shot. Here was a new trouble for the

unfortunate Frendraught. In great concern for what had taken place, he rode to the Marquis of Huntly at the Bog—the modern Gordon Castle—to beseech his intercession for the stanching of the quarrel. At the same time comes Pitcaple, full of designs of vengeance against Frendraught. The marquis was obliged to detain the latter as his guest, to save him from Pitcaple, who went away in great wrath.

Next day, when Frendraught proposed to go home, the marquis caused his son, Viscount Melgum, to accompany him with some other friends, in order to protect him from any attack which Pitcaple might make upon him by the way. It chanced that the Laird of Rothiemay, so lately reconciled to Frendraught, was present on this occasion; he generously offered to be one of the escort. So Frendraught set out with his gallant company, and reached home in safety.

It was only in conformity with the customs of the age that the laird and his lady should invite Lord Melgum, Rothiemay, and the rest of the party to remain for the night. They did so. The gentlemen consented; and after a merry supper, were conducted to bedrooms in the tall narrow old tower, which, with a modern addition, formed the castle of Frendraught. In the first floor, over a vault, through which there was a round hole, lay Melgum and two servants; in the second was Rothiemay, also with a servant or two; in the third, two gentlemen named Chalmers and Rollock, and some more servants, were accommodated.

About midnight (Oct. 8), the tower took fire in a sudden manner, 'yea, in ane clap,' says Spalding, and involved the whole of the inmates in destruction, except Chalmers, Rollock, and a servant who slept beside Lord Melgum. Swift as the fire was, three persons escaped, and Lord Melgum might have also saved himself, if he had not, under a friendly impulse, run upstairs to rouse Rothiemay. While he was engaged in this act, 'the timber passage and lofting of the chamber takes fire, so that none of them could win downstairs again.' So they turned to a window looking towards the court-yard, where they were heard repeatedly calling: 'Help, help, for God's cause!'

The windows being stanchioned, and the access by the stair cut off by the flames, it was impossible to render any assistance, and accordingly the six persons inclosed in the burning tower were all piteously burnt to death. Melgum was but twenty-four years of age, and left a widow and child; Rothiemay was unmarried. It is stated by Lady Melgum's chaplain, that in that last moment of extremity, Lord Melgum induced Rothiemay to make open profession of the Catholic faith; and so, 'they two being at a window, and whilst their legs were burning, did sing together *Te Deum;* which ended, they did tell at the window that their legs were consumed, recommending their souls to God, and the nobleman his wife and child, first to God, and then to the king.' A popular ballad of the day speaks of their being called on to leap from the window:

'How can I leap, how can I win,
How can I leap to thee?
My head's fast in the wire-window,
My feet burning from me.'

He 's ta'en the rings from aff his hands,
And thrown them o'er the wall;
Saying: 'Give them to my lady fair,
Where she sits in the hall.'

This dismal event created a universal feeling of horror, and plunged the friends of the deceased into the greatest grief. The Laird and Lady of Frendraught were to all appearance deeply concerned for what had taken place. On the morning after the fire, the lady, 'busked in a white plaid, and riding on a small nag, having a boy leading her horse, without any more in her company, in this pitiful manner she came weeping and mourning to the Bog, desiring entry to speak with my lord; but this was refused; so she returned back to her own house the same gate she came, comfortless.'—*Spalding.* Her repulse was the more remarkable, as Lady Frendraught was a cousin of the marquis, and brought into bonds of sympathy with him and his family by being a Catholic. A fixed suspicion that she and her husband were the authors of the fire had taken possession

of the Huntly and Rothiemay families, as well as of the populace generally, though not the slightest evidence of guilt has ever been brought against them; and their loss of valuable papers, and of gold and silver articles, to the value, it was alleged, of a hundred thousand marks (Scots), rendered any concern of theirs in the fire-raising the reverse of probable. The laird himself acted in the manner of an innocent man anxious to clear himself of suspicion. He came immediately to the Chancellor Lord Dupplin at Perth, desiring his protection, and offering to submit to trial. The Privy Council do not seem ever to have felt that there were any grounds for charging him with the guilt popularly imputed to him.

More particular suspicions fell upon John Meldrum of Redhill, the *quondam* adherent of Frendraught, but who had latterly fallen into such bad terms with him; likewise upon John Tosh, the master-household of Frendraught. These persons were accordingly apprehended, brought to Edinburgh, and examined. A servant-girl called Wood was also seized and subjected to torture, with a view to extracting her knowledge of the circumstances; but this only produced prevarications, making her evidence of no avail, and for which she was scourged and banished the kingdom.

In March 1631, the Marquis of Huntly, having resolved 'not to revenge himself by way of deed,' as his panegyrist Spalding does not fail to tell us—as if it were a great merit—proceeded to Edinburgh in order to lay his wrongs before the Privy Council. Four commissioners appointed by this body soon after proceeded to Frendraught, which they examined with great care, in company with several noblemen and gentlemen of the district. They found evidence that the fire had originated in the ground-vault of the tower, where there were marks of it in three several places, one of these being directly under the round hole in the roof which communicated with Melgum's apartment above. They could not determine whether it was accidental; but they felt assured that 'no hand without could have raised the fire without aid from within.'

While these matters were pending, there occurred an incident

in itself of little importance, but which marks the spirit of the time. The young Earl of Sutherland, brother to Lady Frendraught, and whose late father was cousin-german to Huntly, in the course of a journey to Edinburgh, resolved to spend a night with the marquis, and for that purpose sent forward his message from Elgin. When he arrived in the evening at Bog of Gight, the marquis gave him a cold reception, and told him that he must either break with his brother-in-law Frendraught, or with himself, as he could no longer be the friend of both. The earl answered that he would prefer the marquis to Frendraught, but that he could not with honour throw off his sister's husband as long as he was *law-free*. Huntly immediately answered: 'Then God be with you, my lord,' and turned away. The Earl of Sutherland lodged that night at a neighbouring hostelry, and in the morning pursued his way south. The singularity of such an event, in an age when it was disrespectful to pass a friend's door without partaking of his hospitality, gives it great significance.

John Tosh, after submitting to examinations by torture, and denying all guilt, was charged (August 3, 1632) with the offence of setting fire to the tower from within; but the charge was never brought before an assize, the assessors finding that an insuperable bar lay in his having passed through the ordeal of torture without confession. There were some suspicious circumstances against him, chiefly of the nature of inconsistencies in his own declarations; but it was certainly possible to account for these upon a different theory from that of his being guilty.

John Meldrum was tried a twelvemonth later, and as it clearly appeared that he had uttered deadly threatenings against Frendraught's life, even specifying burning as the means, he was found guilty, and executed. The theory of his guilt seems to have been, that he had set fire to the tower, in the belief that the laird slept there, and effected his purpose by thrusting combustibles and fire through three slits in the wall. It must be admitted that Meldrum was the only man, of all concerned, in whom motive for murder appears; but his guilt is, after all, far from being clear. The wall was ten feet thick, and the

commission had decidedly pointed to an origin within. No trace of combustibles was ever adduced, and it was proven that he had been at Pitcaple, ten or twelve miles off, that night. On the whole, when the matter is viewed without the passions of the time, it seems most likely that the fire was accidental.

As for the Gordon family, it remained fully convinced of the guilt of the Laird and Lady of Frendraught; and since full retribution could not be obtained by the law, they behoved to have it in some other way. Thus a standing feud was originated between the families.

1631.

Mar. 31.—There being a scarcity at this time on the continent, while Scotland possessed a considerable quantity of wheat, the Privy Council, considering these facts, and, moreover, that wheat is not 'the common grain wherewith the whole lieges are ordinarily fed,' granted license for the exporting of 4000 bolls.—*P. C. R.*

1633.

Feb. 7.—'There began a great storm of snow, with horrible high winds, whilk were noted to be universal through all Scotland. . . . The like had never been seen in these parts, for it would overturn countrymen's houses to the ground, and some persons suddenly smo'ered within, without relief. It also threw down the stately crown bigged of curious ashlar wark, off the steeple of the King's College of Old Aberdeen. This outrageous storm stopped the ordinary course of ebbing and flowing on sundry waters by the space of twenty-four hours, such as the waters of Leith, Dundee, Montrose, and other ports —whilk signified great troubles to be in Scotland, as after ye sall hear how truly came to pass.'—*Spal.*

An irregular tide on the east coast of Scotland is no unexampled phenomenon, and could easily be explained; but it would probably defy a Humboldt or a Whewell to explain another wonder which a grave church historian of the eighteenth century—a 'writer' in Edinburgh, too—sets down as occurring at the same time. 'What was yet more marvellous,' says he,

'the moon, though in her first quarter, set not, but was seen from the Wednesday to the Thursday at even.'

George Nicol, the son of a tailor in Edinburgh, and who had been secretary or clerk to Sir Archibald Acheson, under an unlucky zeal for the public good, resolved to expose some malpractices of the Scottish rulers which had fallen under his attention, or which he believed to exist. Being in London, he presented to the king some information against the Chancellor, the Earls of Morton and Stratherne, the Lord Traquair, the Lord Advocate, &c., for mismanagement of the treasury. These officers were summoned to London to meet the charges brought against them, when it soon appeared that Nicol had advanced what he could not prove.

He was sent back to Scotland under the power of the men whom he had accused, and was adjudged (Mar. 5) by the Privy Council guilty of *lease-making*, and to stand at the entry of the session-house for an hour, and two hours at the cross, with a paper on his head bearing, '*Here stands Mr George Nicol, who is tried, found, and declared to be a false calumnious liar*,' and thereafter to receive six stripes on his naked back by the hand of the hangman, and then to be led back to the Tolbooth with his shoulders still exposed.

This prototype of Scottish political reformers met 'with much compassion from the promiscuous beholders, who generally believed he suffered wrongfully.' He was afterwards deported to Flanders.

Colin Campbell, Laird of Glenurchy, who had succeeded his father Duncan in 1631, seems to have outrivalled him in his taste for elegant things. In the quaint memoir of his family, the *Black Book of Taymouth*, written about this time, it is stated: 'The said Sir Colin bestowit and gave to ane German painter, whom he entertainit in his house aucht month, and that for painting of threttty brods of the kings of Scotland, and of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and twa of their majesties' queens of guid memory, and of the said Sir Colin

his awn and his predecessors' portraits, whilk portraits are set up in the hall and chalmer of dais of the house of Balloch, the soum of ane thousand pounds.'

He also patronised the portrait-painter, George Jameson, now in the zenith of his fame and settled in Edinburgh. From a letter written by this distinguished person to Sir Colin, June 23, 1635, it appears that he charged for his portraits twenty merks each, he furnishing 'claith and colours.' The laird had given an order for pictures of a considerable number of his friends, and Jameson promised, if he began in July, to have sixteen ready in September.

His labours are thus spoken of in the family chronicle: 'Sir Colin gave unto George Jameson, painter in Edinburgh, for King Robert and King David Bruces, kings of Scotland, and Charles I., king of Great Britain, and his majesty's queen, and for nine more of the queens of Scotland their portraits, whilk are set up in the hall of Balloch, the soum of twa hundred threescore pounds.' . . . 'For the knight of Lochow's lady, and the first Countess of Argyll, and six of the ladies of Glenurchy their portraits, and Sir Colin his awn portrait, whilk are set up in the chalmer of dais of Balloch, [he gave] ane hundred fourscore pounds.'

June 15.—The king arrived in Edinburgh, accompanied by the Duke of Lennox, the Marquis of Hamilton, and divers other Scotch and English lords and gentlemen to the number of about five hundred. His furniture and plate were carried about with him in princely form. He, riding on horseback, was received at the West Port in a theatrical manner, after the fashion of the allegorical entertainments with which Ben Jonson has made us familiar.

Next day (Sunday) the king made a procession in his coach to the castle, where he was magnificently banqueted, 'served with his awn officiars and with his awn provision, vessels, and plate.' Thence he returned next day, conducted by his nobility in state, in his royal robes, to the Abbey Kirk of Holyrood, and there was solemnly crowned by the Bishop of Brechin.

July 10.—On his return to Edinburgh, from a visit to Perth, the king crossed the Firth of Forth, in fair weather; nevertheless, a boat perished in his sight, containing thirty-five of his domestics, all of whom excepting two were drowned.[1] 'His majesty's silver plate and household stuff perished with the rest; a pitiful sight, no doubt, to the king and the haill beholders . . . . betokening great troubles to fall betwixt the king and his subjects, as after does appear.'—*Spal.*

July 30.—License was given to one Edward Graham to have the keeping of a camel belonging to the king, and to take the animal throughout the kingdom that it might be shown to the people, 'by tuck of drum or sound of trumpet, from time to time, without trouble or let,' he and his servants engaging to behave themselves modestly, and not exhibit the camel on the Sabbath-day.—*P. C. R.*

William Coke and Alison Dick were burnt for witchcraft on the sands of Kirkcaldy. An account, which has been preserved in the session records of the parish, of the expenses incurred on the occasion reveals some parts of the process of witch-prosecution, including the lamentable fact of the concern borne in such matters by the ministers of religion. There is first paid, *for the kirk's part*, £17, 10*s.*, composed as follows: Mr John Miller, when he went to Preston for a man to try them, £2, 7*s.*; to the man of Culross, when he went away the first time [probably a pricker], 12*s.*; for coals for the witches, £1, 4*s.*; in purchasing the commission, £9, 3*s.*; for one to go to Finmouth for the laird to sit upon their assize as judge, 6*s.*; for harden to be jumps to them, £3, 10*s.*; for making of them, 8*s.* Then, of the town's part, for ten loads of coal to burn them, 5 merks, £3, 6*s.* 8*d.*; for a tar barrel, 14*s.*; for tows, 6*s.*; to him that brought the executioner, £2, 18*s.*; to the executioner for his pains, £8, 14*s.*; for his expenses here, 16*s.* 4*d.*; for one to go to Finmouth for the laird, 6*s.*: in all £17, 1*s.* Sum of the expense, £34, 11*s.* Scots.

[1] Another account states the number drowned at eight.

1634.

'About this time, a pot [eddy-pool] of the water of Brechin, called South Esk, became suddenly dry, and for a short space continued so, but bolts up again, and turns to its own course; which was thought to be an ominous token for Scotland, as it so fell out.'

A sudden desiccation or stoppage of the flow of rivers is a phenomenon not unknown to modern science. The rivers Teviot, Clyde, and Nith were all of them reduced, on the 27th of November 1838, to such a smallness that the mills everywhere ceased to work. The small feeding-streams were observed on this occasion to be completely dried up. The phenomenon was variously attributed to an earthquake (though none was felt), to a high wind obstructing the current, and to a frost. Mr David Milne made some careful inquiries into the subject, and ascertained that on the previous evening the thermometer had suddenly sunk to 26 degrees all over the south of Scotland, producing a very low temperature. He considered the depletion to be caused by the frost arresting the small rills in the upper parts of the rivers, and yet not sufficient to prevent the water further down from flowing away.[1]

The spring of this year was cold and dry. During the months of April and May, there was no rain for seven weeks; consequently, the seed in some places never germinated. The summer, however, proved so fine, that after all there was a tolerable harvest.

'The gose-summer[2] was matchless fair in Moray, without winds, wet, or any storm; the corn was well won; the garden herbs revived, July flowers and roses springing at Martinmas, whilk myself pulled. The kale shot and came to seed, and the March violets were springing as in April.'—*Spal.*

1 *Ed. Phil. Journal*, Apr. 1839.

2 Go-summer and go-har'st are terms applied in Scotland to the mild weather which sometimes occurs between autumn and winter. There is a proverb in Peeblesshire: 'If the deer lie down dry and rise dry on Rood-e'en (September 13), it's a sign we'll have a good go-har'st.'

Nov.—A specimen of religious courtship of this age is given by Mr John Livingstone in his Memoirs. The lady was daughter to Bartholomew Fleming, merchant in Edinburgh. 'When I went a visit to Ireland in February 1634, Mr Blair propounded to me that marriage. I had seen her before several times in Scotland, and heard the testimony of many of her gracious disposition, yet I was for nine months seeking, as I could, direction from God about that business; during which time I did not offer to speak to her, who, I believe, had not heard anything of the matter, only for want of clearness in my mind, although I was twice or thrice in the house, and saw her frequently at communions and public meetings, and it is like I might have been longer in such darkness, except the Lord had presented me an occasion of our conferring together; for in November 1634, when I was going to the Friday meeting at Ancrum, I met with her and some others going thither, and propounded to them by the way to confer upon a text whereupon I was to preach the day after at Ancrum, wherein I found her conference so judicious and spiritual, that I took that for some answer to my prayer to have my mind cleared, and blamed myself that I had not before taken occasion to confer with her. Four or five days after, I propounded the matter to her, and desired her to think upon it; and after a week or two, I went to her mother's house, and being alone with her, desiring her answer, I went to prayer, and urged her to pray, which at last she did; and in that time I got abundance of clearness that it was the Lord's mind that I should marry her, and then propounded the matter more fully to her mother. And although I was fully cleared, I may truly say it was above a month before I got marriage affection to her, although she was for personal endowments beyond many of her equals; and I got it not till I obtained it by prayer. But thereafter I had a great difficulty to moderate it.'

From this union proceeded a family which has made a distinguished figure in the United States of America.

Dec. 14.—Died at Stirling, the Earl of Mar, Lord-treasurer

of Scotland, the school-friend of King James VI., and a most respectable nobleman. Scot of Scotstarvet, who seems to have had rather more than the usual relish for the misfortunes of his neighbours, says of Lord Mar: 'His chief delight was in hunting; and he procured by acts of parliament that none should hunt within divers miles of the king's house; yet often that which is most pleasant to a man is his overthrow; for, walking in his own hall, a dog cast him off his feet, and lamed his leg, of which he died; and at his burial, a hare having run through the company, his special chamberlain, Alexander Stirling, fell off his horse and broke his neck.'—*Staggering State of Scots Statesmen.*

1635.

The winter 1634–5 is described by a contemporary as 'the most tempestuous and stormy that was seen in Scotland these sixty years past, with such abundance of snow and so rigid a frost, that the snow lay in the plains from the 9th of December to the 9th of March.'—*Bal.*

Jan. ?—'. . . . there was seen in Scotland a great blazing star, *representing the shape of a crab or cancer, having long sprainges spreading from it.* It was seen in the county of Moray, and thought by some that this star, and the drying up of the pot of Brechin, as is before noted, were prodigious signs of great troubles in Scotland.'—*Spal.*

The year at which we are now arrived is the epoch of the establishment of a regular letter-post in Scotland. There was previously a system of *posts*, in the proper sense of the word—namely, establishments at certain intervals where horses could be had for travelling, and which had the occasional duty of forwarding packets of letters regarding public affairs. As illustrative of this system of posts, which was probably limited to the road between Edinburgh and Berwick (as part of the great line of communication with London), with possibly one or two other roads—On the 29th of March 1631, the Lords of the Privy Council dealt with the fault of —— Forres, post-

master of Haddington, respecting a packet of his majesty's letters which had been lost by his carelessness. It appears that Forres was bound to have fresh horses always ready for the forwarding of such packets; but on one late occasion he had sent a packet by a foot-boy, who had lost it by the way, and he had never taken any further trouble regarding it. On the ensuing 3d of November, the Council had occasion to find fault with William Duncan, postmaster in the Canongate, and more particularly with a post-boy in Duncan's employment, because the latter, instead of carrying his majesty's packet to the postmaster at Haddington, had given it to 'a whipman' of Musselburgh, to be carried to Duncan's house there (designing probably that it should be forwarded by another hand). The Council recommended Sir William Seton 'to prescribe regulations to the postmasters for the sure and speedy despatch of his majesty's packet, both anent the postmasters their constant residence at the place of their charge, and keeping of ane register for receipt of the packets.'—*P. C. R.*

These circumstances appear as characteristic of a time when the postal arrangements were at once very new and very simple.

The post between London and Edinburgh was of course conducted on horseback. It usually went twice a week, sometimes only once. Three years after, when the troubles had begun, the communication became insecure. A person in England then wrote to his friend in Scotland: 'I hear the posts are waylaid, and all letters taken from them and brought to Secretary Cooke; therefore will I not, nor do you, send by that way hereafter.'

June.—'There was seen in the water of Don a monster-like beast, having the head like to ane great mastiff dog or swine, and hands, arms, and paps like to a man. The paps seemed to be white. It had hair on the head, and the hinder parts, seen sometimes above the water, seemed clubbish, short-legged, and short-footed, with ane tail. This monster was seen swimming bodily above the water about ten hours in the morning, and continued all day visible, swimming above and below the

bridge without any fear. The town's-people of both Aberdeens came out in great multitudes to see this monster. Some threw stones; some shot guns and pistols; and the salmon-fishers rowed cobles with nets to catch it, but all in vain. It never shrinked nor feared, but would duck under the water, snorting and bullering, terrible to the hearers and beholders. It remained two days, and was seen no more.'—*Spalding* (*altered*).

It seems most probable that this was one of the herbivorous cetacea, as the *manatus*. 'They have,' says Cuvier, 'two mammæ on the breast, and hairy moustaches; two circumstances which, when observed from a distance, may give them some resemblance to human beings, and have probably occasioned those fabulous accounts of Tritons and Sirens, which some travellers pretend to have seen.' The manatus haunts the mouths of rivers in the hottest parts of the Atlantic Ocean, and it is just possible that a stray individual may have found its way to the coast of Scotland, more especially as it was the summer season.

Sep. 26.—The pest was at this time at Cramond, near Edinburgh—supposed to have been introduced by a ship from the Low Countries, where the disease largely prevailed. The inhabitants were ordered to keep within their own parish, and two *clengers* from Newhaven were despatched to bury the dead and take all other needful steps to prevent the spread of infection. A strict order was issued to prevent the landing of people out of ships from Holland, or any intercourse with such vessels as might come into the Firth of Forth.

During the ensuing year, the plague declared itself in London, Newcastle, and other towns in England, but hardly appeared in Scotland till November, when the towns of Preston, Prestonpans, and Musselburgh were slightly infected.

1636.

July 27.—This was a terrible day for the *broken men* who had for the last few years been carrying on such wild proceedings in Morayland and other districts bordering on the Highlands. Lord Lorne—who soon after, as Marquis of Argyll, became the

leader of the Covenanting party—had exerted himself with diligence to put down the system of robbery and oppression by which the country had been so long harassed; and he had succeeded in capturing ten of the most noted of the caterans, including one whose name enjoys a popular celebrity even to the present day. This was Gilderoy or Gillieroy; such at least was his common appellation—a descriptive term signifying the Red Lad—but he actually bore the name of Patrick Macgregor, being a member of that unhappy clan which the severity of the government had driven to desperate courses thirty years before. Another of the captured men was John Forbes, who seems to have been the *fidus Achates* of the notorious outlaw, James Grant. These ten men were now brought to trial in Edinburgh. It was alleged of Gilderoy that he and his band had for three years past *sorned* 'through the haill bounds of Strathspey, Braemar, Cromar, and countries thereabout, oppressing the common and poor people, violently taking away from them their meat, drink, and provision, and their haill guids.' There had also been a cruel slaughter of one of the Clan Cameron. If the doom of the ten caterans was duly executed—and we know nothing to the contrary—they were all, two days after, drawn backwards on a hurdle to the cross, and there hanged, Gilderoy and John Forbes suffering on a gallows 'ane degree higher' than that on which their companions suffered, and further having their heads and right hands struck off for exhibition on the city ports.

Gilderoy, as is well known, attained a ballad fame. There is a broadside of the time containing a lament for him by his mistress, in rude verses not altogether devoid of pathos. She says:

My love he was as brave a man
As ever Scotland bred,
Descended from a Highland clan,
A catter to his trade.
No woman then or womankind
Had ever greater joy
Than we two when we lodged alone,
I and my Gilderoy.

There is something almost fine in the close of the piece:

> And now he is in Edinburgh town,
> 'Twas long ere I came there;
> They hanged him upon a pin,
> And he wagged in the air:
> His relics they were more esteemed
> Than Hector's were at Troy—
> *I never love to see the face*
> *That gazed on Gilderoy.*

1637.

July 23.—The intrusion of a service-book or liturgy upon the Scottish Church has been alluded to in the introduction to the present section. There was an almost universal unwillingness, even among the friends of the reigning system, to give efficacy to the royal orders; for it was seen that the congregations would not calmly see this innovation effected. It was resolved, however, that on Sunday the 23d of July the book should be used in the cathedral church of St Giles, Edinburgh.

To pursue the narrative of a contemporary—'How soon as Dr George Hanna, dean of Edinburgh, who was to officiate that day, had opened the service-book, a number of the meaner sort of people, most of them waiting-maids and women, who use in that town to keep places for the better sort, with clapping of their hands, cursings, and outcries, raised such an uncouth noise and hubbub in the church, that not any one could either hear or be heard. The gentlewomen did fall a tearing and crying that the mass was entered amongst them, and Baal in the church. There was a gentleman standing behind a pew and answering "Amen" to what the dean was reading; a she-zealot, hearing him, starts up in choler: "Traitor," says she, "does thou say mass at my ear!" and with that struck him on the face with her Bible in great fury.

'The bishop of Edinburgh, Mr David Lindsay, stepped into the pulpit, above the dean, intending to appease the tumult, minding them of the place where they were, and entreating them to desist from profaning it. But he met with as little reverence (albeit with more violence) as the dean had found; for they were more enraged, and began to throw at him stools,

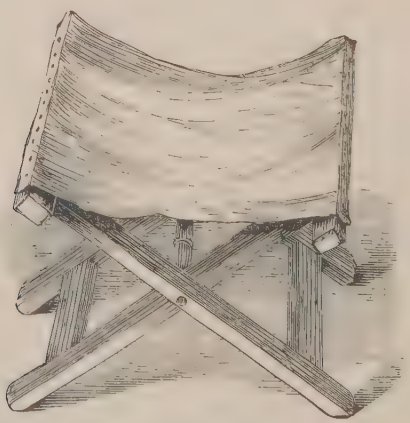
and their very Bibles, and what arms were in the way of [their] fury. It is reported that he hardly escaped the blow of a stool, which one present diverted. Nor were their tongues idler than their hands. Upon this, John Spottiswoode, archbishop of St Andrews, then Lord Chancellor, and some others, offering to assist the bishop in quelling the multitude, were made partners of the suffering of all these curses and imprecations which they began to pray to the bishops and their abettors. The archbishop, finding himself unable to prevail with the people, was forced to call down from their gallery the provost and bailies and others of the town-council of Edinburgh, who at length, with much tumult and confusion, thrust the unruly rabble out of the church, and made fast the church doors.

'The multitude being removed, the dean falls again to read, in presence of the better sort who stayed behind; but all this while, those who had been turned out of doors kept such a quarter with clamours without, and rapping at the church doors, and pelting the windows with stones, as that the dean might once more be interrupted. This put the bailies once more to the pains to come down from their seat and interpose with the clamorous multitude to make them quiet. In the midst of these clamours, the service was brought to an end; but the people's fury was not a whit settled; for after the bishop had stepped up into the pulpit and preached and the congregation dismissed, the bishop of Edinburgh retiring to his lodging not far distant from the church, was environed and set upon with a multitude of the meaner people, cursing him and crowding about him, that he was in danger of his life, and to be trodden down amongst the people; and having recovered the stairs of his lodging, he no sooner began to go up, but he was pulled so rudely by the sleeve of his gown that he was like to have fallen backwards. Nor was he in more security, having gotten to the top of the stairs; for the door he did find shut against him, and so was at a stand, likely to have been oppressed, had not the Earl of Wemyss, who from the next lodging saw the bishop in danger, sent his servants for to rescue him, who got him at

last, breathless and in much amazement, into his lodging.'—*Gordon's Hist. of Scots Affairs.*

Tradition in modern times has represented an herb-woman, named Jenny Geddes, as the heroine who more especially cast her stool at the bishop. Wodrow, however, has given us a different account in his *Analecta*. 'It is,' says he, 'a constantly believed tradition that it was Mrs Mean, wife to John Mean, merchant in Edinburgh, that cast the first stool when the service-book was read in the New Kirk, Edinburgh, 1637; and that many of the lasses that carried on the fray were prentices in disguise, for they threw stools to a great length.' Mrs Mean had been the subject of a relenting and humane act on the part of the government. When her husband was under restraint for nonconformity in 1624, he was liberated on a petition setting forth the delicate state of his wife's health, in order that he might be enabled to return to Edinburgh and attend upon her.

'After this Sunday's wark, the haill kirk doors of Edinburgh was lockit, and no more preaching heard [for four or five weeks]. The zealous puritans flockit ilk Sunday to hear devotion in Fife; syne returned to their houses.'—*Spal.*



Jenny Geddes's Stool.

Reign of Charles the First.

1637–1649.

IT was a terrible and most exciting crisis for Scotland, when the people found themselves constrained by all they held sacred to resist their sovereign. Revering the institution of monarchy, and long accustomed to yield to the powerful king of Great Britain a deference which had neither been asked by nor paid to the sovereign of their own rude and inferior state, nothing could have brought them into such an attitude but their anxiety for the avoidance of soul-endangering errors. Even after the riots of July—such was the unwillingness to adopt strong measures—they might have been induced to remain at peace under bishops and Perth articles, if the king had been so far well counselled as at once and gracefully to withdraw the service-book. The king unfortunately determined to persevere in his unlucky course. The consequence was that the great mass of the people, including many of the nobility and gentry, was led into measures, at first of protestation, and latterly of resistance. There was indeed a district in the north-east where Episcopacy was the favourite system. In some other places, papist nobles exercised a limited local influence. The Highlanders were an uninstructed people, with no religious predilections. But in the Lowland provinces generally, a people far from void of intelligence were intensely earnest in favour of their old simple forms of worship and model of church-government.

In the latter part of 1637, the service-book not being withdrawn, four committees, called *Tables*, respectively representing the nobles, gentry, clergy, and burgesses, met in Edinburgh to concert measures for giving it an effective resistance. When it became evident, in the ensuing February, that the king was obdurate, the Tables framed a NATIONAL COVENANT, binding all who should

sign it to spare nothing which might save their religion. It was signed by a large majority of the people, in a paroxysm of enthusiasm beyond all example in our history.

The king, notwithstanding that a respect for his person and rule was still professed, could not acquiesce in a movement so contrary to the policy he had so long maintained, and which interfered so violently with his own religious convictions. He began to prepare an army for the subjugation of the Covenanters. They on their part made ready for an armed resistance, not professedly to their sovereign, but to the statesmen who guided his counsels. By a great effort, he got together twenty thousand men, and (May 1639) led them towards the Border. Under their nobles, gentry, and clergy, the Scots mustered forces to defend their shores from the fleet, to meet the anti-Covenanting party in the north, and to oppose the king at the Border. To the number of about twenty thousand men, commanded by Sir Alexander Leslie, an experienced officer from the German wars, they took post on Duns Law, while the king advanced with his army towards the Tweed. The king, seeing their resolution and discipline, and feeling that he had but slack support from his own army, was induced to offer a pacification. He proposed that everything should be submitted to a General Assembly sitting under his representative, and to a subsequent parliament.

The General Assembly and the parliament met in the course of summer (1639) under royal commissioners, but with only the effect of formally affirming the abolition of Episcopacy. The king accordingly resolved on a second expedition against the Scots. The Scots mustered a second army as good as his own. They crossed the Tweed (August 28, 1640), and advanced on the Tyne. After a smart action, in which they were victorious, they crossed that river, and took possession of Newcastle. With a disaffected army, and all but a few zealots muttering around him, the king could only come a second time to a convention, but now it was upon less favourable terms than before.

In the civil war that broke out in England, when the king raised his standard against the parliament (August 1642), the Scottish nation had no formal reason or pretext for joining on one side or the other; but their sympathies and interests were all engaged in behalf of the Parliamentary cause. A set of commissioners from the English parliament came into Scotland to court its alliance; they were instructed to give the Scottish nation hopes that, in the

event of success against the king, the Presbyterian model should supersede the Episcopalian both in England and Ireland. Their Estates, accordingly, entered into what was called a SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT with the English parliament (August 1643), one of the provisions of which engaged them to send an army against the king. Eighteen thousand foot and three thousand horse, to be supported by English pay at the rate of £30,000 a month, crossed the Tweed in the depth of winter (January 1644). Joining the Parliamentary troops at York, the Scots assisted materially in gaining the important victory of Marston Moor, from which the king's party never entirely recovered. They also besieged and took Newcastle, preserving a laudable moderation in their triumph. The season ended with a marked depression of the royal cause.

In 1648, Cromwell came to Edinburgh, and fraternised with the more zealous Presbyterian leaders. In January 1649, the king was tried for the alleged crime of raising war upon his subjects, and publicly beheaded.

1637.

Oct. 3.—This day began a fall of rain in Moray-land, of ten days' continuance; 'waters and burns flowing up over bank and brae; corn-mills and mill-houses washen down; houses, kilns, cots, faulds wherein beasts were keepit, all destroyed. The corns, weel stacked, began to moch [become fusty] and rot till they were casten over again. Lamentable to see, and whereof the like was never seen before.'—*Spal.*

Oct. 19.—A quantity of gold had been brought into the kingdom by 'the adventurers of Guinee.' It was ordered to be formed into coin by Nicolas Briot and John Falconer, masters of the cunyie-house, according to the arrangements ordered by the Privy Council in April 1625.—*P. C. R.* Some gold subsequently brought from the same country to England by the African Company, 'administered the first occasion,' as Clarendon tells us, 'for the coinage of those pieces which, from thence, had the denomination of *guineas*.'

The digging of gold in Guinea is connected in a melancholy way with Scotland, for fifteen hundred of the Scottish prisoners

taken at Worcester in September 1651, were granted to the Guinea merchants, 'to be transported to Guinea to work in the mines there.'

Dec. 4.—In the night arose 'ane horrible high wind,' which blew down the rafters of the choir of Elgin Cathedral, left without the slates eighty years before. This fact reminds us how much of the destruction of our ancient ecclesiastical buildings was owing, not to actual or immediate damage at the Reformation, but to neglect afterwards.

Dec. 26.—This day, in consequence of the late inundation and storms, a bar made its appearance athwart the mouth of the river Dee, 'mixed with marble, clay, and stones.' The contemplation of so fatal a stoppage to their harbour threw the citizens of Aberdeen into a state of the greatest anxiety. 'They fell to with fasting, praying, preaching, mourning, and weeping all day and night. Then they went out with spades, shools, mattocks, and mells, in great numbers, men and women, young and old, at low-water, to cast down this dreadful bar; but all for nought, for as fast as they cast down at a low-water, it gathered again as fast at a full sea.' The people had resigned themselves to despair, when 'the Lord, of his great mercy, without help of mortal man, removed and swept clean away this fearful bar, and made the water mouth to keep its own course, as it was before.'—*Slightly altered from Spalding.*

1637–8.

On the hill of Echt, in Aberdeenshire, famous for its ancient fortification called the Barmkyn of Echt, there was heard, almost every night, all this winter, a prodigious beating of drums, supposed to foretell the bloody civil wars which soon after ensued. The parade and retiring of guards, their tattoos, their reveilles, and marches, were all heard distinctly by multitudes of people. 'Ear-witnesses, soldiers of credit, have told me,' says Gordon of Rothiemay, 'that when the parade was beating, they could discern when the drummer walked towards them, or when he turned about, as the fashion is for drummers,

to walk to and again, upon the head or front of a company drawn up. At such times, also, they could distinguish the marches of several nations; and the first marches that were heard there were the Scottish March; afterwards, the Irish March was heard; then the English March. But before these noises ceased, those who had been trained up much of their lives abroad in the German wars, affirmed that they could perfectly, by their hearing, discern the marches upon the drum of several foreign nations of Europe—such as the French, Dutch, Danish, &c. These drums were so constantly heard, that all the country people next adjacent were therewith accustomed; and sometimes these drummers were heard off that hill, in places two or three miles distant. Some people in the night, travelling near by the Loch of Skene, within three mile of that hill, were frighted with the loud noise of drums, struck hard by them, which did convoy them along the way, but saw nothing; as I had it often from such as heard these noises, from the Laird of Skene and his lady, from the Laird of Echt, and my own wife then living in Skene, almost immediately after the people thus terrified had come and told it. Some gentlemen of known integrity and truth affirmed that, near these places, they heard as perfect shot of cannon go off as ever they heard at the battle of Nordlingen, where themselves some years before had been present.'—*Scots Affairs.*

1638.

Feb. 8 *or* 9.—By order of the king, in consideration of the rebellious proceedings in Edinburgh, 'the session sat down in Stirling. Ye may guess if the town of Edinburgh was angry or not.'—*Chron. Perth.*

Feb. 28.—This day commenced at Edinburgh the signing of the National Covenant. After the document had been subscribed by the congregation at the Greyfriars' Church, before whom it was first presented, it went through the city, every one contesting who might be first, many blindly following the example of others—not only men, but 'women, young people, and servants did swear and hold up their hands to the

Covenant.' Many copies written out on parchment, and signed by the leading nobles, were carried into the country, and laid before the people of the several towns and districts.

'This year was ane very dry year, for about the end of August, all the corns was within the yards.'—*Ab. Re.*

Oct.—Amidst the excitement of the time, a young woman named Mitchelson, who had been subject to fits, attracted attention in Edinburgh by becoming a sort of prophetess or Pythoness of the Covenant. 'She was acquainted with the Scripture, and much taken with the Covenant, and in her fits spoke much to its advantage, and much ill to its opposers, that would, or at least that she wished to befall them. Great numbers of all ranks of people were her daily hearers; and many of the devouter sex prayed and wept, with joy and wonder, to hear her speak. When her fits came upon her, she was ordinarily thrown upon a down bed, and there prostrate, with her face downwards, spoke such words as were for a while carefully taken from her mouth by such as were skilful in brachygraphy. She had intermissions of her discourses for days and weeks; and before she began to speak, it was made known through Edinburgh. Mr Harry Rollock [one of the clergymen of Edinburgh], who often came to see her, said that he thought it was not good manners to speak while his Master was speaking, and that he acknowledged his Master's voice in her. Some misconstered her to be suborned by the Covenanters, and at least that she had nothing that savoured of a rapture, but only of memory, and that still she knew what she spoke, and, being interrupted in her discourse, answered pertinently to the purpose. Her language signified little: she spoke of Christ, and called him Covenanting Jesus; that the Covenant was approved from heaven; that the king's covenant was Satan's invention; that the Covenant should prosper, but the adherents to the king's covenant should be confounded; and much other stuff of this nature, which savoured at best of senseless simplicity. The Earl of Airth, upon a time, getting a paper of

her prophecies, which was inscribed, "that, such a day and such a year, Mrs Mitchelson awoke and spoke gloriously," in place of the word "gloriously," which he blotted out, writt over it the word "gowkedly" or foolishly, [and] was so much distested for a while among the superstitious admirers of this maid, that he had like to have run the fate of one of the bishops, by a charge with stones upon the street. But this blazing star quickly vanished.'—*Gordon's Scots Affairs.*

There seems no reason to doubt that Mrs Mitchelson was a sincere young woman, but in an unsound nervous condition. Ecstatics like her are common in the Romish Church, in which case there is much tendency to visions of St Catherine, instead of ravings about the Covenant. From analogous cases of persons under hallucinations, the giving pertinent answers to ordinary questions, which Gordon adduces as a ground of doubt, does not necessarily infer that Mrs Mitchelson was a cunning woman playing a part.

1639.

May.—Gordon of Rothiemay notes a *quasi* prodigy as happening at Duns Law while the Scottish army lay there. It has a whimsical character, as connecting the Covenanting war with a geological fact. The matter consisted of 'the falling of a part of a bank upon the steep side of a hill near by to the Scottish camp, which of its own accord had shuffled downward, and by its fall discovered innumerable stones, round, for the most part, in shape, and perfectly spherical, some of them oval-shapen. They were of a dark-gray colour, some of them yellowish, and for quantity they looked like ball of all sizes, from a pistol to field-pieces, such as sakers or robenets, or battering-pieces upwards. Smooth they were, and polished without, but lighter than lead by many degrees, so that they were only for show, but not for use. Many of them were carried about in men's pockets, to be seen for the rarity. Nor wanted there a few who interpreted this stone magazine at Duns Hill as a miracle, as if God had sent this by ane hid providence for the use of the Covenanters; for at this time all things were interpreted for the advantage of the Covenant.

Others looked upon these pebble-stones as prodigious, and the wiser sort took no notice of them at all. I suppose that at this present the quarry is extant, where they are yet to be seen, no more a miracle; but whether the event has determined them to be a prodigy or not, I shall not take it upon me to define *pro* or *con*.'

A modern writer may feel little difficulty in defining this magazine of pebbles as merely part of an ancient alluvial terrace, such as are found in most mountain valleys in Scotland, being, in geological theory, the relics of gravel-beds deposited in these situations by the streams, when, from a lower relative position of the land, the sea partially occupied these glens in the form of estuaries. On the banks of the Whitadder, close to Duns Law, we still see such banks of pebbles, the water-rolled spoils of the Lammermuirs, and chiefly of the transition or Silurian rocks.

Nov. 1.—Owing to the confusions, the Court of Session did not sit down as usual for the winter session to-day, 'but was vacant the haill winter session, to the great grief of the true creditor, and the pleasure of the debtor unwilling to pay his debt.'—*Spal.*

Nov. 2.—A base coin called Turners had been struck by the Earl of Stirling under royal license, and were to him a source of considerable gain, at the expense of the rest of the community. On the day above noted, 'King Charles's turners stricken by the Earl of Stirling, was, by proclamation at the cross of Edinburgh, cryit down frae twa pennies to ane penny; King James's turners to pass for twa pennies, because they were no less worth; and the caird turners simpliciter discharged as false cunyie. But this proclamation was shortly recalled, because there was no other money passing to make change.' *April* 1640.—'You see before some order taken with the passing of turners, whereof some was appointit to pass for ane penny. Now they would give nothing, penny nor halfpenny, for King Charles's turners; but King James's turners only should pass.

Whereby all change and trade was taken away through want of current money, because thir slight turners was the only money almost passing through all Scotland.'—*Spal.*

Nov. ?—The Marquis of Huntly being at this time resident in the Canongate, two of his daughters were married there 'with great solemnities'—Lady Anne, who was 'ane precise puritan,' to Lord Drummond; and Lady Henrietta, who was a Roman Catholic, to Lord Seton, son of the Earl of Wintoun. The ladies had each 40,000 merks, Scots money, as her fortune, their uncle the Earl of Argyll being cautioner for the payment, 'for relief whereof he got the wadset of Lochaber and Badenoch.'—*Spal.* Lady Jean, the third daughter, was married in the ensuing January to the Earl of Haddington, with 30,000 merks as her 'tocher good.'

1640.

Mar.—In Aberdeenshire, there were 'in this ait-seed time, great frosts and snaw, no ploughs going, and little seed sawing, so vehement was this storm. No peats could be had to burn, for ane lead [horse-burden] would have cost 13*s.* 4*d.* [1*s.* 1⅓*d.* sterling], whilk would have been coft [bought] other years for 2*s.* [2*d.* sterling]. The brewsters left aff to brew for want of fire. The reason of this scarcity was, because the Covenanters, coming here in March 1639, causit the haill servants, who should have casten the peats for serving of both Aberdeens, flee out of the country for fear; and so not only was our peats dear, but, through the unseasonableness of the spring, the victual also became very dear.'—*Spal.*

1641.

Aug.—'In this month, ane great death, both in burgh and land, of young bairns in the pox; so that nine or ten children would be buried in New Aberdeen in one day, and continued a long time. All for our sins, and yet not taken to heart.' 'There was reckoned buried in Aberdeen about twelve score bairns in this disease.'

Spalding, who notes these particulars, remarks that, since the beginning of the troubles, there had been no sea-mews seen in

the lochs of New or Old Aberdeen, 'who before flocked and clecked in so great abundance, that it was pleasure to behold them flying above our heads, yea, and some made use of their eggs and birds. In like manner, few or no corbies seen in either Aberdeens at the water-side of Dee or Don, or shore, where they wont to flock abundantly for salmon gouries [offal].'

1642.

Apr.—At this time of general strife and trouble, when civil war was beginning to appear inevitable, a monster passed through the country for exhibition to the curious. It was an Italian of about twenty-four years of age, 'having from his birth, growing from the breast upwards, face to face, as it were ane creature having a head and syde [long] hair, like the colour of the man's hair; the head still drooping backward and downward. He had eyes, but closed, not opened. He had ears, two arms, two hands, three fingers on ilk hand, ane body, ane leg, ane foot with six taes; the other leg within the flesh, inclining to the left side. . . . . It had a kind of life and feeling, but void of all other senses; fed by the man's own nourishment. . . . . This great wark of God was admired of by many in Aberdeen and through the country, as he travelled; yet such was the goodness of God, that he would go and walk where he listed, carrying this birth without any pain, yea unespied when his clothes was on. When he came to the town, he had two servants waiting upon him, who with himself were well clad. He had his portraiture with the monster drawn, and hung out at his lodging to the view of the people. The one servant [was] ane trumpeter, who sounded at such time as the people should come to see this monster, who flocked abundantly into his lodging. The other servant received the moneys frae ilk person for sight, some more, some less. And after there was so much collected as could be gotten, he, with his servants, shortly left the town and went south again.'—*Spal.*

It may somewhat stay our smiles at the simplicity of Spalding's narration, that it was not till the present century

that the true theory of such monsters was arrived at—to wit, that they are twin-births, in which, through some simple disturbing cause, development has been arrested or taken a wrong course.

There is an account of this remarkable person, illustrated by a portrait, in Palfyn's *Traité des Monstres, de leurs Causes, de leur Nature,* &c. (Leyden, 1708). The author had first seen him at Copenhagen, and afterwards at Bâle, while he was still a young man. He bore the name of Lazare Colloredon Genois, and the attached figure had been baptised separately under the name of Jean Baptiste. Lazare is described as a man of good stature and appearance, and of agreeable manners. He wore a large cloak, to conceal the unsightly brother whom nature had attached to his breast. Usually he showed a good deal of vivacity, but was now and then depressed in thinking of what should be his fate, if, as was likely, his brother should die before him. Jean Baptiste was a very imperfect being, nourished only by what Lazare ate; his eyes nearly closed, and his respiration scarcely perceptible.

June.—Up to this time, from the beginning of the year, there was a scarcity of white fish along the east coast, 'to the hurt and hunger of the poor . . . . and beggaring of the fishermen. It was reported that when the fishers had laid their lines and taken fishes abundantly, there came ane beast called the Sea Dog to the lines, and ate and destroyed the haill bodies, and left nothing on the lines but the heads. A judgment surely from God Almighty, for the like scarcity of fishes to continue so long has scarcely been seen here in Scotland; whilk bred great dearth of meal and malt, at aucht, nine, or ten pounds the boll, and all other meats also very dear.'—*Spal.*

The honest town-clerk of Aberdeen probably by sea-dog means the well-known *dog-fish*, one of the cartilaginous family, which is a constant enemy of our fisheries at this day.

The same authority informs us that dearth continued throughout the ensuing winter. 'White meal,' he says, probably meaning flour, 'was at eight pounds the boll.' The people

had been accustomed to dear summers—the stock of grain of the preceding year usually getting low at that season—but this was the first dear winter for many years. 'There was also great rains, whereby none was able to travel; great storms in the sea, and few fish gotten, to the great grief of the people.'

In November, when the recent commencement of hostilities between the king and the English parliament must have been thrilling men's minds in Scotland, Spalding notes, that 'in ane seaman's house in Peterhead, there was heard, upon the night, beating of drums, other times sounding of trumpets, playing on piffers, and ringing of bells, to the astonishment of the hearers. Troubles followit.'

1643.

Feb.—Whilst the first battles of the Civil War were causing universal excitement, some further rumours of prodigies were circulated in the country. It was stated that a battle was seen at the hill of Manderlee, four miles from Banff; and so strongly did the vision impress itself on the beholders, that many ran to bury their valuables in the earth. At Bankafair and Drum, touking of drums was heard. Mr Andrew Leitch, minister of Ellon in Aberdeenshire, sitting at supper one night, 'heard touking of drums vively, sometimes appearing near at hand, and sometimes far off. On the 7th of February, it was written here to Aberdeen, that Kentoun battle at Banbury,[1] wherein his majesty was victorious, has in vision been seen seven sundry times sin-syne.'—*Spal.* On the 12th, about eight in the morning, being a misty day, 'visions seen at the hill of Brimman, within four miles of Aberdeen. William Anderson, tenant in Crabstone, told me he saw ane great army as appeared to him, both of horse and foot, about eight hours in the morning, being misty, and visibly continued till sunrising; syne vanished away in his sight with noise into ane moss hard beside. Likewise in the muir of Forfar, armies of men seen in the air. Whilk visions the people thought to be prodigious tokens, *as it fell out over true.*'—*Spal.*

The same minister of Ellon, happening to step out of his

[1] The battle of Edgehill, fought on the 23d of October 1642.

manse one night between twelve and one o'clock, 'did see the sun to shine as if it had been mid-day, and much astonished at so fearful a prodigy, he called up his bedral to see it also; and, lest the truth hereof should not win belief, he caused the bedral to raise a number of the neighbours from their beds, all which did testify the same when the preacher was questioned about it by the committee sitting at Aberdeen.'—*Pa. Gordon.* To make up for this unusual solar demonstration, the sun by day 'was seen in divers parts to shine with a faint beam, yielding a dim and shadowy light even in a clear heaven, and some time did show like a deep and large pond or lake of blood.'

1644.

July 7 (*Sunday*).—A solemn fast and humiliation was kept throughout Scotland, on account of backsliding from the Covenant and the prevalence of vice and godlessness; as also to entreat the favour of Heaven for the Parliamentary arms, and to pray for the filling of the king's heart with the love of reformation. A fast in those days was a reality. In Old Aberdeen, the people entered the church at nine o'clock, and continued hearing prayers and sermons till two. They might have then dismissed for a space, but they sat still hearing 'reading' till the commencement of afternoon service, which ended at six. Then the bell rang for evening prayers, which continued till seven.—*Spal.*

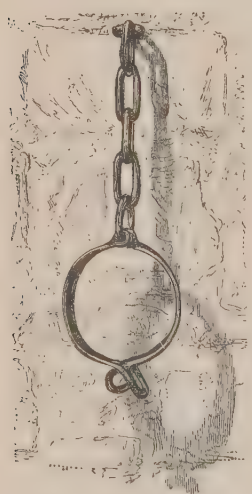
1645.

Of the ecclesiastical discipline of this period and its bearing upon the habits of the people, we get a good idea from the Presbytery Record of Strathbogie, published by the Spalding Club. The whole moral energy of the country appears as concentrated in an effort to fix a certain code of theological views, including a rigid observance of the Sabbath, the suppression of witchcraft, the maintenance of a serious style of manners, and the extirpation of popery.

A committee of the presbytery made periodical visits to the several parishes, called the minister and chief parishioners before them, and examined the parties separately as to each other's spiritual condition and religious practice. To be absent

any considerable number of times from church was punishable; and if the parishioner proved contumacious, he was liable to be excommunicated—a doom inferring a loss of all civil rights, and a complete separation from human converse. Quarrelling and scolding had to be expiated in sackcloth before the congregation. Drunkenness and swearing were also censured. In dealing with these offences, an unsparing inquisition into domestic and family matters was used, and no rank, age, or sex seems to have afforded the subject any protection.

As specimens of religious offences—a gentleman was prosecuted for bringing home a millstone on a Sunday; another, for gathering gooseberries in time of sermon. It was found regarding Patrick Wilson that he had sat up with a company drinking till after cockcrow, consuming in all eleven pints—that is, about two dozen quart bottles—of ale; he had struck a man, and railed in his drink at several gentlemen of the parish. 'The brethren ordained Patrick to stand in sackcloth two Sabbaths, and pay four marks penalty.'



The Jougs—at Duddingston Church.

Many traits of barbarous manners occur in the record, showing that the clergy had somewhat rough materials to deal with, in their efforts to build up a perfect system. There were several persons so far left to a wicked nature as to hold the dicta of the reverend presbytery itself in contempt. For instance, John Tulloch, on being summoned regarding an irregularity with Elspeth Gordon, answered, 'the devil a care cared he for their excommunication; excommunicate him the morn [to-morrow] if they pleased.' Three witnesses attested regarding James Middleton, that, on his being rebuked by the minister, they heard him say that 'he cared not for him, nor any minister in Scotland;' and when the minister

threatened to put him in the *jougs*, they heard him say that 'neither he nor the best minister within seven miles durst do so much.'

Feb. 27.—The arrangements for the maintenance of a militia in Scotland were fixed by the Estates. Each county and burgh was ordered to raise and maintain a certain number of foot-soldiers (exclusive of horse), according to their respective amounts of population, at £9 Scots per month for each man. The lists are curious, as informing us of the assumed comparative population of the several counties and burghs in that age.

Counties—Aberdeen, 727; Argyll, 323; Ayr, 674; Banff, 159; Berwick, 394; Bute, 51; Caithness, 105; Clackmannan, 58; Cromarty, 11; Dumbarton, 137; Dumfries, 494; Edinburgh, 463; Elgin, 210; Fife, 738; Forfar, 556; Haddington, 376; Inverness, 464; Kincardine, 174; Kinross, 16; Lanark, 598; Linlithgow, 194; Nairn, 35; Orkney, 127; Peebles, 182; Perth, 889; Renfrew, 245; Roxburgh, 642; Selkirk, 142; Stirling, 282; Sutherland, 47; Wigtown and Kirkcudbright, 486. Burghs—Aberbrothock, 10; Aberdeen, 160; Annan, 3; Anstruther Easter, 31; Anstruther Wester, 6; Ayr, 41; Banff, 8; Brechin, 20; Burntisland, 16; Crail, 24; Cullen, 4; Culross, 12; Cupar, 24; Dumbarton, 12; Dumfries, 44; Dunbar, 12; Dundee, 186; Dunfermline, 12; Dysart, 30; Edinburgh, 574; Elgin, 20; Forfar, 6; Forres, 6; Galloway, 1; Glasgow, 110; Haddington, 36; Inverkeithing, 10; Inverness, 40; Irvine, 23; Jedburgh, 18; Kilrenny, 3; Kinghorn, 14; Kirkcaldy, 46; Kirkcudbright, 20; Lanark, 16; Lauder, 5; Linlithgow, 30; Lochmaben, 3; Montrose, 53; Nairn, 4; North Berwick, 4; Peebles, 10; Perth, 110; Pittenweem, 15; Queensferry, 7; Renfrew, 10; Rothesay, 5; Rutherglen, 5; St Andrews, 60; Sanquhar, 3; Selkirk, 10; Stirling, 36; Tain, 12; Whithorn, 5; Wigtown, 15.

The total number is, for counties, 9999; for burghs, 2000—total, 11,999. If we assume that the aim was to call out one soldier for every sixty souls, the entire population would be almost 720,000. Edinburgh would have 34,440 inhabitants;

Glasgow and Perth, each 6600; Stirling and Haddington, each 2160; Ayr, 2460; Dundee, 11,160; Inverness, 2400; St Andrews, 3600; Dumfries, 2640; Montrose, 3180; &c.

Apr. 1.—'This day, Kelso, with the haill houses, corns, barns, barn-yards, burnt by fire, caused by a clenging of ane of the houses thereof whilk was infected with the plague.'—*Hope's Diary.*

The pest appears by this time to have reached Edinburgh. The town-council agreed (April 10) with Joannes Paulitius, M.D., that he should visit the infected at a salary of eighty pounds Scots per month. A great number of people affected by the malady were quartered in huts in the King's Park; others were kept at home; and for the relief of these, the aid of the charitable was invoked from the pulpits.

It is understood that those who died by the plague were usually buried in places apart from churchyards, from an apprehension that the infection might burst out and spread, if the graves should be reopened.

An anecdote illustrating the terrors inspired in private circles by the plague is related with regard to this occurrence of the disease, in the memoir of the Stewarts of Coltness, by Sir Archibald Stewart Denham of Westshield, a gentleman born in 1683. Speaking of Sir Thomas Stewart, he says: 'A remarkable incident happened him in his youth, when the pestilence broke out in Edinburgh in 1645. He with a son of Westshield, a merchant apprentice, had gone to a public-house and received change of some money, and next day that house was shut up, as infected with the plague. This gave a strong alarm at home. James Denham was sent for, and both were strictly examined as to every circumstance. Thomas had received the money in change, and so frightened were all, that none would touch the pocket in which the money was but at a distance; and after the pocket was cut out, it was with tongs cast in a fire; and both lads were shut up in a bed-chamber, sequestrate from all company, and had victuals at proper times handed into them. While they thus stood their quarantine, by strength of imagina-

tion or power of fancy, some fiery spots broke out on their arms and thighs, and they imagined no less than unavoidable death. They mutually lamented. Thomas had more courage and Christian resignation than his companion. "James," said he, "let us trust in God and in the family prayers, for Jesus' sake, who, as he cures the plague of the heart, can, if we are infected, cure the most noisome disease of the body." They both went to their knees and joined in most solemn prayer, had much spiritual comfort, and in a fortnight were set at liberty, and the family retired to the country.'—*Coltness Collections.*

As far as appears, the plague did not visit Scotland after this time—a circumstance the more remarkable, as it was so deadly in London in 1665, and even reappeared there in the ensuing year. In connection with the plague, the tale of Bessie Bell and Mary Gray has obtained a large currency in Scotland. According to a report on the subject, communicated to the Antiquarian Society in 1781 by Major Barry of Lednoch,[1] the incident took place in the year 1666; but this is probably a mistake, arising from an assumption that the last great pestilence of London was general over the country (1665 being further mistaken for 1666). Major Barry says:

'When I first came to Lednoch, I was shown (in a part of my ground called the Dronoch Haugh) a heap of stones almost covered with briers, thorns, and fern, which they assured me was the burial-place of Bessie Bell and Mary Gray.

'The tradition of the country relating to these ladies is, that Mary's father was Laird of Lednoch, and Bessie Bell's of Kinvaid, a place in this neighbourhood, and an intimate friendship subsisted between them: that, while Miss Bell was on a visit to Miss Gray, the plague broke out in the year 1666; in order to avoid which, they built themselves a bower about three-quarters of a mile west from Lednoch House, in a very retired and romantic place called Burn Braes, on the side of the Beanchie Burn. Here they lived for some time; but the plague raging with great fury, they caught the infection (it is said) from a young gentleman who was in love with them both. He used

[1] *Archæologia Scotica*, ii. 108.

to bring them their provision. They died in this bower, and were buried in the Dronoch Haugh, at the foot of a brae of the same name, and near to the bank of the river Almond. The burial-place lies about half a mile west from the present house of Lednoch [now called Lyndoch], about seven miles north-west from Perth.'

The major adds: 'I have removed all the rubbish from this little spot of classic ground, inclosed it with a wall, planted it round with flowering shrubs, made up the grave double, and fixed a stone in the wall, on which are engraved the names of Bessie Bell and Mary Gray.'

While the plague, as has been observed, raged in London in 1665, Scotland was free of it; neither is there any notice of the malady occurring in 1666, either in Lamont's or Nicoll's Diary, where it could not have failed to be mentioned if it had occurred. It therefore seems necessary to place the story of Bessie Bell and Mary Gray under 1645.

The sad fate of the two girls became the subject of a ballad, which commenced thus:

Bessie Bell and Mary Gray,
They were twa bonnie lasses,
They biggit a bower on yon burn brae,
And theekit it ower wi' rashes.

The rest has been lost, except the concluding stanza:

They wadna lie in Methven kirkyard,
Amang their gentle kin;
But they wad lie in Dronoch Haugh,
To beek forment the sin.

1647.

Sep. 17.—A letter of this date, from James Morphie, tailor in Edinburgh, to the Earl of Airlie, has been preserved, and is in its way a curious memorial of the past. When found a few years ago in Cortachy Castle, it contained five pieces of cloth, being, we may presume, those alluded to by the writer, and all as fresh as on the day they were cut.

'RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD—I received your lordship's letter, and have tried for the nearest swatches of cloths I could

find, conform to the orders received, and has inclosed them in this letter, with the prices written by them. As for the Kentish cloths your lordship desired, there is few or none to be found; but we expect some to be home shortly. There is only ane swatch of Kentish cloth here, with the price thereof. Likewise receive the piece that was taken out of the tail of your lordship's doublet. Any of thir clothes your lordship pleases, send for them by the first occasion, or [ere] they be gone. Not troubling your lordship ony forder, but rests your lordship's humble and obedient servant, JAMES MORPHIE. From Edinburgh, the 17 day of September 1647. [Addressed] For the Right Honourable the Earl of Airly.'

The letter and pieces of cloth were placed in the Arbroath Museum.

1648.

July 28.—The Shorter Catechism recently framed by the Westminster Assembly of Divines, for the instruction 'of such as are of weaker capacity,' and which has since been in constant and universal use in Scotland, was this day sanctioned by the General Assembly, sitting in Edinburgh.

Oct. 4.—Oliver Cromwell paid his first visit to Edinburgh. He came hot from the destruction of the Duke of Hamilton's semi-royalist Scotch army at Preston, designing to confer with the heads of the ultra-presbyterian party for the extinction of that kind of opposition in the northern part of the island. The Earl of Kirkcudbright and Major-general Holburn conducted him into the city, where he was lodged very handsomely in the Earl of Moray's house in the Canongate; a strong guard *of his own troops* was mounted at the gate. 'The Earl of Moray's house,' says Thomas Carlyle, 'still stands in the Canongate, well known to the inhabitants there—a solid spacious mansion, which, when all bright and new two hundred years ago, must have been a very adequate lodging.'

To the fall of this year is to be traced the origin of the term *Whig*, as applicable to a well-known party in the state. Burnet, who was likely to know the facts well, makes the following

statement: 'The south-west counties of Scotland have seldom corn enough to serve them round the year; and the northern parts producing more than they need, those in the west come in the summer to buy at Leith the stores that come from the north. From a word Whiggan, used in driving their horses, all that drove were called the *Whiggamores*, and, shorter, the *Whigs*. . . . .

Regent Moray's House, Canongate, Edinburgh.

After the news came down of Duke Hamilton's defeat, the ministers animated their people to rise and march to Edinburgh; and they came up marching on the head of their parishes, with an unheard-of fury, praying and preaching all the way as they came. The Marquis of Argyll and his party came and headed them, they being about 6000. This was called the Whiggamores' Inroad [strictly the *Whigs' Raid*]; and ever after that, all that opposed the court came in contempt to be called Whigs.'

We find John Nicoll, the diarist, in 1666, speaking of the west-country Presbyterians as 'commonly called the Whigs,' implying that the term was new. The sliding of the appellation from these obscure people to the party of the opposition in London a few years later, is indicated by Daniel Defoe as

occurring immediately after the affair of Bothwell Bridge in 1679. The Duke of Monmouth, then returning from his command in Scotland, instead of thanks for his good service, found himself under blame for using the insurgents too mercifully. 'And Lauderdale told Charles, with an oath, that the duke had been so civil to the Whigs because he was himself a Whig in his heart. This made it a court-word; and in a little while, all the friends and followers of the duke began to be called *Whigs*.'

Head of West Bow, Edinburgh (removed in 1879).

Interregnum.

1649–1660.

THE execution of the king, among its other bad effects, put enmity between the ruling powers of Scotland and England. The leaders at Edinburgh, notwithstanding their condemnation of the late 'Engagement,' upheld monarchy in principle; and therefore, while England was declaring itself a commonwealth or republic, Scotland proclaimed the late king's son —a youth of nineteen, living in exile—as Charles II., King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. At the same time, the Scots were determined not to receive the young king as their sovereign, or to befriend him in any way, until he should have accepted that Solemn League and Covenant which proclaimed a crusade against all doctrine inconsistent with pure Presbyterianism.

Commissioners sent to the young king at the Hague negotiated for his coming to Scotland as their covenanted monarch. He would fain have evaded the condition; but on that point no concession could be made. He, therefore, while the treaty was going on, was induced to sanction a descent upon Scotland, which Montrose had planned, with a view to raise the royalists.

Seeing no better course now open to him for the recovery of his kingdoms, Charles agreed that, on coming into Scotland, he should sign the Covenant. Charles landed at the mouth of the Spey, and was received with all outward appearances of respect by the Scottish leaders and the chief divines, while they trusted him with no real power. He visited Aberdeen, Perth, and Stirling, everywhere a mere puppet, and much at a loss, it is said, to endure the long sermons to which his situation compelled him to listen.

Cromwell, fresh from the reduction of Ireland, came into Scotland

with an army in July, to put down this movement. He found the campaign less simple than he anticipated. Distressed by want of provisions and by sickness, he was even inclined to withdraw along the east coast. But the Scottish army posted on the Doon Hill, near Dunbar, made such a movement impossible. In these circumstances, he must soon have been brought to a capitulation. But the imprudence of the Scottish leaders, in forcing General Leslie to attack the English, proved his salvation. He gained a complete victory (September 3, 1650), killing three thousand, and taking several thousand prisoners, many of whom were sent to the plantations as slaves. Edinburgh and its castle fell into his hands, along with most of the southern provinces.

Scotland had now expended nearly the whole of her military strength in a vain endeavour to support her ecclesiastical system, in connection with a limited monarchy, against the English commonwealth. Her towns and principal places of strength fell into the hands of the English troops. The Committee of Estates were surprised and taken prisoners at a place called Alyth, on the skirts of the Grampians. The General Assembly was dispersed, and no church-courts above synods were allowed to meet. With little ceremony, the country was declared to be united with England.

During the greater part of this time Cromwell was the undisputed ruler of Scotland, as well as of England and Ireland. At length, after his death in 1658, confusion and difficulty were renewed, and to these an effectual stop was not put till, by the happy intervention of General Monk, Charles II. was restored as king (May 1660).

1649.

This was a year of extreme dearth. Wheat was at seventeen pounds Scots per boll; oats, twelve pounds; and other grains in proportion. Owing, also, to the coldness and dryness of the spring, the herbage and hay proved deficient, and cheese and butter consequently attained high prices—the former three, and the latter six pounds per stone. 'In the beginning of June, the parliament licensed Englishmen to buy and transport oxen, kine, sheep of all sorts, likewise horses and colts; which was one of the most hurtful acts could be made to ruin Scotland, and advance the designs of the enemies thereof; bestial of all sorts being at so high a rate these four years past in this country, and flesh in the common markets scarce buyable but

at very exorbitant rates; the like has not been seen in this kingdom heretofore since it was a nation.'—*Bal.*

The luxuries of life were correspondingly dear at this time: the best ale, 3*s.* 4*d.* ($3\frac{1}{3}$*d.* sterling); sack wine, 36*s.*; and French wine, 16*s.* per pint.

Aug.—'About Lammas and afterwards, in many parts of this kingdom, both among bear and oats, there were seen a great number of creeping things—which was not ordinar—which remained in the head of the stalk of corn, at the root of the pickle.'—*Lam.*

'About Lammas . . . . there was a star seen by many people of Edinburgh, betwixt twelve and two hours of the day, even when the sun shined most bright; which was taken for a comet, and a forerunner of the troubles that followed.'—*C. P. H.*

No such comet is noted by astronomers, the only two in the first half of the seventeenth century being in 1607 and 1618. It was probably a star of high magnitude, or planet rendered visible by some extraordinary state of the atmosphere.

Lord Linton, son of the Earl of Traquair, married Henrietta Gordon, daughter of the lately executed Marquis of Huntly, and relict of George, Lord Seton; she being an excommunicated papist. 'The minister of Dawick, being an old man, did marry thir foresaid persons privately, without proclamation of their banns, according to the custom; for which, shortly after, he was excommunicate, his church declared vacant, and he by the state banished.'—*Lam.* Lord Linton was fined in £5000 Scots, and likewise excommunicated and imprisoned.—*Nic.*

In the year 1649, as is believed, a cateran named Mac-Allister, with a band of followers, kept a large portion of Caithness in terror. The people of Thurso having somehow given him offence, he determined to revenge himself by suddenly coming down upon them on a Sunday and burning

them in church. He and his men had provided themselves with withes of twigs to fasten the doors, in order to keep the people in, while fire should be set to the building. Some one remonstrating with him for contemplating such an unholy design on the Sabbath-day, he avowed that, in spite of God and the Sabbath both, he would shed blood. Fortunately, some humane person became aware of the design, and set off at speed to give the alarm. This had scarcely been done, when the caterans, twenty in number, arrived. There were seven doors to the church, as may be verified by an inspection of the ruins at this day. An old woman dexterously thrust her stool into one near which she sat, so as to prevent it from being closed; the people were eager to defend the rest as far as they could. Mac-Allister himself came to the door of a gallery at the south-west angle of the building, accessible by an outer stair. Here sat Sir James Sinclair of Murkle, an able and determined man, who made a practice of coming to church armed. Meeting the robber in the doorway, he thrust his sword through him, but with no apparent effect. His servant, however, superstitiously fearing that Mac-Allister was impervious to cold steel, cut a triangular silver button from Sir James's coat, and with that shot the fellow in the head. He tumbled over the stair, saying in Gaelic: 'Hoot-toot, the bodach has deafened me!' It was a mortal wound in the ear. The rest of the party were then set upon by the congregation, and after a hard contest, overpowered, many of them, like their master, being killed.

1650.

Mar.—Throughout this and the ensuing two months, there 'fell out much unseasonable weather, the like whereof was not usual, for weets, cold, frosts, and tempests.'—*Nic.*

The same writer informs us that on the 28th of May 'there rained blood the space of three miles in the Earl of Buccleuch's bounds, near the English Border; whilk was verified in presence of the Committee of State.'

In the ensuing month there was an epidemic called the *Irish Ague*, 'which was a terrible sore pain in the head, some saying

that their heads did open. The ordinary remedy was the hard tying up of their head. A disease not before this known to the inhabitants of this kingdom.'

May 15.—'The new Psalm-books were read and ordained to be sung through all the kingdom.'—*Nic.* This was the translation of the Psalms which is still used by the Church of Scotland and all Presbyterian congregations in the kingdom. It was based on a homely version produced originally in 1643, by Francis Rous, a member of the Long Parliament, who ultimately became provost of Eton, and died in 1658. What was rather odd, Rous was at this time joined to the Sectaries, against whom the Scotch Church entertained so bitter a feeling. It must be admitted that his version underwent great improvements in the hands of the committees of the General Assembly appointed for its revision.

May 21.—The Marquis of Montrose, taken in an unsuccessful attempt to restore the king without the ceremony of the Covenant, was hanged in Edinburgh on a gibbet thirty feet high. The heroic firmness displayed at his death harmonised well with the gallantry exhibited in his short but brilliant career. It affords a striking idea of the taste of men of the highest rank in that age, that the Marquis of Argyll appeared on a balcony to see him driven on the hangman's hurdle to the prison from which he was two days after to walk to the gallows, and that Lord Lorne took post at a window near the scaffold, to see the body cut to pieces after death. The head being stuck on the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and the limbs sent for exhibition over the ports of Glasgow, Perth, Stirling, and Aberdeen, Charles II. was compelled to behold those ghastly relics of the most loyal of his subjects, when, less than a month after, he progressed through the country. If Montrose had died free of excommunication, his body would have been given to his friends; as matters stood, it was inhumed beneath a gibbet at the Burghmoor. There was, however, a female heart that secretly wept for the untimely end of the Great Marquis. His niece, Lady

Napier, sent men by night, who dug up the body and stole away the heart; and this relic she consigned to a steel case made out of the hero's sword, which again she inclosed in a gold filigree box, which had been presented by a doge of Venice to her husband's grandfather, the inventor of the logarithms. It will be found that, after the Restoration, when it became the fate of Argyll and others to atone by their blood for the severities inflicted on Montrose, the remains of the culprit of 1650 were gathered together and treated with a funeral that might have been honourable to a king. The heart and its case were, however, retained in the possession of the Napier family for several generations, and only were lost sight of amidst the confusions of the French Revolution.

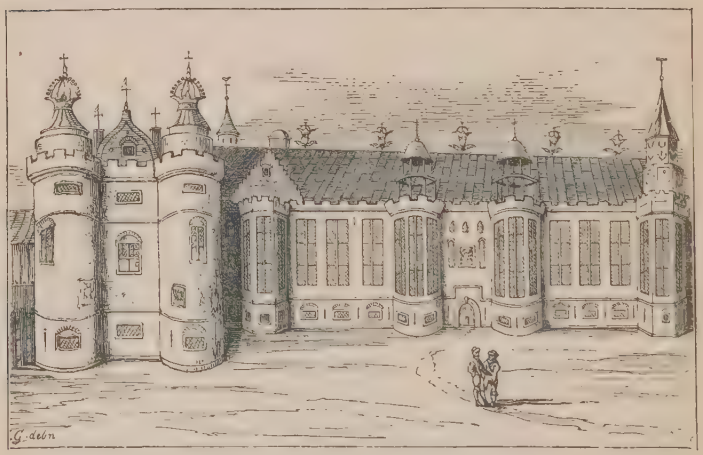
July.—Cromwell having crossed the Tweed with his army on the 22d of this month, a large body of troops assembled on Leith Links to oppose him, all animated with a good spirit in behalf of their king and country, but unluckily not all equally sound in the faith of the Solemn League and Covenant. Thousands were sent back, 'to the discontentment of much people.' The leaders thought it safer to meet Cromwell with twenty thousand who were of right principles, than with thirty thousand of whom a third were merely patriotic and loyal. While the army, as honest John Nicoll remarks, 'stood daily in purging upon the Links,' the young king came to review them, and doubtless was right sorry to see so many hearty soldiers turned away from his banner.

Aug.—While the two hostile armies lay about Edinburgh, 'there was such great scarcity, that all sorts of vivres, meat and drink, could hardly be had for money, and such as was gotten was fuisted [musty], and sald at a double price. The haill inhabitants were forced to contribute and provide for the [Scottish] army, notwithstanding of this scarcity; as also to furnish feather beds, bowsters, cods, blankets, sheets . . . . for the hurt soldiers to lie upon, with pots and pans for making ready their meat; and to collect money for providing honest

entertainment to the hurt soldiers that lay in the [Heriot's] Hospital and Paul's Wark.'—*Nic.*

Sep.—The bellman was accustomed to intimate the death of a citizen through the streets, and in the same way give invitations to the funeral. At this time the Edinburgh official was ordered to give up the phrase, 'faithful brother or sister,' and retain brother or sister only.[1]—*Nic.*

Nov. 13.—At this distressing time, when the best part of the



Holyrood Palace, as before the Fire of 1650.

country was in the hands of foreign invaders, and the ancient monarchy of Scotland threatened with destruction, there occurred

[1] The formula used on the occasion is given in the following terms by a writer of the seventeenth century: 'When any one dies, the bellman goes about ringing the passing bell, and acquaints the people therewith in the following form: "Beloved brethren and sisters, I let you to wit that there is ane faithful brother lately departed out of this present warld, at the pleesure of Almichty God (and then he veils his bonnet); his name is Wully Woodcock, third son to Jemmy Woodcock, a cordinger; he ligs at the sixt door within the Norgate, close on the Nether Wynd, and I would you gang to his burying on Thursday before twa o'clock, &c." The time appointed for his burying being come, the bellman calls the company together, and he is carried to the burying-place, and thrown into the grave as dog Lion was, and there is an end of Wully.'—*A Modern Account of Scotland*, 1670. *Harleian Miscellany*, vi. 121.

a calamitous event which must have been peculiarly bewailed. The palace of Holyrood, being then in the occupation of a party of the English troops, took fire, and was in great part destroyed. The most interesting portion of the building—the north-west tower, containing the apartments of Queen Mary—was fortunately preserved; but the principal *façade* was laid in ruins, so that the general appearance was, on a restoration, much changed. About the same time, the English soldiery, for the sake of fuel, broke down the furniture of the University buildings, the High School, and of three churches—College, Greyfriars, and Lady Yester's—besides the plenishing of many houses in town and country.

'In all parts of the land, where the English army come, the ministers fled, and the Lord's houses were closed and laid waste; so that the word of the Lord became very precious to many.' 'The land [was] mourning, languishing, left desolate, every part thereof shut up, and no safe going out nor coming in . . . . the Lord hiding his face all this time for the sins of Scotland.'—*Nic.*

Dec.—'I thought it good to remember here how that the names of Protestant and Papist were not now in use . . . . in place thereof raise up the name of Covenanters, Anti-Covenanters, Cross-Covenanters, Puritans, Babarteris, Roundheads, Auld Horns, New Horns, Cross-petitioners, Brownists, Separatists, Malignants, Sectaries, Royalists, Quakers, Anabaptists.'—*Nic.*

1651.

This year was one of even greater dearth than the preceding, bear being £20 Scots per boll—equal to £1, 13*s.* 4*d.*—in many parts of the country. The best sack wine was 4*s.* sterling, and French wine 1*s.* 6*d.* per pint. The best ale 4*d.* a pint. 'Yet God's providence was such toward the nation, that even when our awn corns failed us, the English nation did bring in abundantly wheat, bear, peas, and such like, and brought down the dearth of our mercats, by [beyond] expectation.'—*Nic.*

Dec.—One good consequence of the English military rule now established in Scotland was the introduction of some improved police regulations into Edinburgh. Householders were compelled to hang out lanterns, from six to nine at night, at their doors and windows; by which arrangement 'the winter night was almost as light as the day.' The expense was reckoned to be about forty-five pounds a night. Rigorous measures were also taken for the cleaning of the streets and lanes, and for preventing foul water being thrown forth from windows.

It would appear that these regulations were steadily kept up during the English occupation. In April 1657, there was a petition from the magistrates of Edinburgh to the commissioners of justiciary craving remission of certain fines, amounting in all to £50 sterling, which had been imposed on the magistrates 'for not cleansing the streets.' They alleged that they had 'employed scavengers' with a view to giving the commissioners satisfaction.—*B. A.*

Nicoll, writing towards the close of 1651, gives a second and most unflattering picture of the moral conditions of Scotland. 'Under heaven,' he says, 'there was not greater falset, oppression, division, hatred, pride, malice, and envy, nor was at this time, and diverse and sundry years before (ever since the subscribing the Covenant); every man seeking himself and his awn ends, even under a cloak of piety, whilk did cover much knavery.' He adds: 'Much of the ministry, also, could not purge themselves of their vices of pride, avarice, and cruelty; where they maligned, they were divided in their judgments and opinions, and made their pulpits to speak ane against another. Great care they had of their augmentations, and *Reek Pennies*,[1] never before heard of but within thir few years. Pride and cruelty, ane against another, much abounded; little charity or mercy to restore the weak, was to be found among them. . . . . This I observe not out of malice to the ministry, but to record the truth, for all offended, from the prince to the beggar.'

[1] Apparently a tax imposed on houses—equivalent to hearth-money.

About April 1652, we begin to find dissent taking recognisable forms. There were now Antinomians, Antitrinitarians, Familists,[1] and Seekers, as well as Brownists, Independents, and Erastians. Where there had formerly been no avowed Anabaptists, there were now many, 'sae that thrice in the week —namely, on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday—there were some dippit at Bonnington Mill betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, both men and women of good rank. Some days there would be sundry hundred persons attending that action, and fifteen persons baptised in one day by the Anabaptists.' Among the converts was 'the Lady Craigie Wallace, a lady in the west country.'—*Nic.* In autumn, at Cupar, Mr Brown, preacher to Fairfax's regiment, re-baptised several of the soldiers 'in the Eden, near to Airdrie's lodging, by dipping them over head and ears, many of the inhabitants looking on.'—*Lam.*

1652.

Mar.—The Castle of Dunnottar was now almost the only place of strength in the kingdom which resisted the English arms. It held out with a small garrison, under the command of George Ogilvie of Barras, whose anxiety to maintain his post was increased by the consideration that within these sea-girt walls rested the regalia of the kingdom—the crown, sceptre, and sword of state—which had been consigned by the Committee of Estates to this fort, under the care of the Earl Marischal, as being the strongest place in the kingdom that remained untaken after the reduction of Edinburgh Castle. For many months, Ogilvie and his little garrison had defied the English forces; but now it was likely that he could not hold out much longer—in which case, of course, the regalia must fall into the hands of the enemy. The Earl Marischal had been taken with the Committee of Estates at Alyth, and shipped off to London as a prisoner. He contrived, however, to send by a private hand the key of the closet in which the regalia lay, to his mother, the Dowager Countess, who, by the advice of her son, opened a communication with Mr James Grainger, minister of Kinneff, a person in whom the family reposed great faith, with a view to

[1] A small sect who held that families were the only proper congregations.

his assisting in the conveying away of the precious 'honours.' The minister and his wife, Christian Fletcher (posterity will desire the preservation of her whole name), entered heartily into the wishes of the countess. Mrs Grainger, by permission of the English commander, visiting the wife of the governor of the castle, received from that lady, but without the knowledge of her husband, the crown into her lap. The sceptre and sword, wrapped up in a bundle of *hards* or lint, were placed on the back of a female attendant. When Mrs Grainger and her maid returned through the beleaguering camp, it appeared as if she were taking away some lint to be spun for Mrs Ogilvie. So far from suspecting any trick, the English officer on duty is said to have helped Mrs Grainger upon her horse. The castle was reduced three months afterward, when great was the rage of the English on finding that the regalia were gone. It was adroitly given out that they had been carried beyond sea by Sir John Keith, a younger brother of the earl, and handed to King Charles at Paris.

In reality, on reaching the manse of Kinneff, Mrs Grainger had delivered the crown, sceptre, and sword to her husband, who took the earliest opportunity of burying them under the floor of his church, imparting the secret of their concealment to no one but the Countess Marischal. To the credit of the worthy minister and his wife, they preserved their secret inviolate till the Restoration, eight years afterwards, when 'the honours' were exhumed, and replaced under proper custody. An order of the Scottish parliament, dated January 11, 1661, rewarded Mrs Grainger with two thousand merks; Ogilvie was created a baronet; while Sir John Keith, whose immediate concern in the affair does not appear to have been great, was made Knight Marischal of Scotland, with a salary of £400 yearly; to which rewards was added in 1677 a peerage under the title of Earl of Kintore.

Mar. 29.—Being Monday, a celebrated eclipse of the sun took place between eight and eleven in the morning, with a perfectly clear sky. 'The whole body of the sun did appear

to us as if it had been covered with the moon; only there was a circle about the sun that appeared somewhat clear without any light [the corona?]. At that time there did a star appear in the firmament, near to the place of the eclipse.' 'There was ane manifest darkness for the space of some moments.'—*Lam.* 'The time of the eclipse it was exceedingly fearful and dark, to the terror of many.'—*Nic.* Another account says the darkness continued about eight minutes, and the people began to pray to God.[1] 'The like, as thought by astrologers, was not since the darkness at our Lord's passion. The country people, tilling, loosed their ploughs, and thought it had been the latter day. . . . . The birds clapped to the ground.'—*Law.* The day of this eclipse was long remembered, under the name of Mirk Mononday.

June 17.—'It pleased God to lay the town of Glasgow desolate by a violent and sudden fire. . . . . The far best part of the fore streets and most considerable buildings were burnt, together with above fourscore lanes and closes, which were the dwellings of above a thousand families, and almost all the shops and warehouses of the merchants, many whereof are near-by ruined. Besides, a great many more of widows, orphans, and distressed honest families, having lost what they had, are now put to starving and begging. The like of this fire has not been formerly heard of in this nation.'—*Nic.* 'It was said 1060 houses burnt.'—*C. P. H.*

This summer was remarkable for clear, dry, warm weather, parching up the herbage, and producing exceedingly light crops on the best lands. The harvest commenced in June, and in a field near Dundee there were *stooks* on the 7th of July. At the end of July and beginning of August, the harvest was general; and before the end of the latter month, all was 'in'—circumstances unexampled, and which have perhaps never again occurred. 'The pease wallowed [that is, faded in the bloom] a fortnight before Lammas, whereas some years they continue

[1] Burgh Record of Peebles.

till Michaelmas.'—*Lam.* 'All the corn was got in without rain, and long before the usual time. The like harvest was in England.' 'It is truly reported that in England there was such abundance of white butterflies as was never heard of before. They destroyed all cabbage; and divers cobles coming from sea, hardly could see the land for them.'—*Nic.*

The summer 'produced ripe wine-berries and grapes, and abundance of Scotch chestanes openly sauld in the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh, and baken in pasties at banquets.'—*Nic.*

The weather, strange to say, remained of the same character all the latter part of the year, so that fruit-trees had a second blossoming in November, and some of them brought forth fruit, 'albeit not in perfection.' The furze and broom bloomed again; the violet, not due till March, presented its modest head in November. Birds began to build their nests, and lay eggs, at or near Martinmas, and salads and sybows were cried and sold in Edinburgh on the 27th of November.—*Nic.*

In some churches in Fife, as Kirkcaldy and Kennoway, the English soldiers 'did pull down the stool of repentance; they did sit in them also, in contempt, in some places where they came, in time of sermon.' Several ministers were openly challenged for their expressions in prayers and sermons, by these soldiers. Mr George Hamilton at Pittenweem was so troubled by some of Fairfax's regiment, that he had to break off; 'at which time there was great uproar in the church there.' —*Lam.*

Aug.—The Earl of Crawford, having been taken by the English at Alyth a twelvemonth before, now lay a prisoner in the Tower. The countess—a sister of the late Duke of Hamilton—desiring to visit her husband in his affliction, left Scotland for the purpose in a stagecoach which had recently been established for the keeping up of communication between the two countries—'the journey coach,' says Lamont, 'that comes ordinarily between England and Scotland.' We do not learn the periods of departure, or any other detail regarding this

vehicle; but from a paragraph which occurs under May 1658, we may presume that it did not go oftener than once in three weeks, and charged for a seat fully as much as a first-class railway ticket of the present day.

Oct.—Four English gentlemen—Messrs George Smith, John Martin, Andrew Owen, and Edward Mosley—the commissioners appointed by Cromwell for the administration of justice in Scotland in place of the Court of Session, commenced their labours in the criminal department at Edinburgh. The Scottish civil bench having not long been free from an evil reputation for *budds* or bribes, and to the last liable to the charge of partiality, it is alleged that the English judges rather surprised the public by their equitable decisions. It is added that some one, in a subsequent age, was lauding, to the Lord-President Gilmour, the remarkable impartiality of these judges and the general equity of their proceedings, when the Scottish judge answered in his rough way: 'Deil thank them, they had neither kith nor kin!'

1653.

June.—Early in this month, a number of *pellochs* or porpoises were thrown ashore dead on the coast of Fife; 'whilk was taken to be very ominous.'—*Nic.*

(*Sep.*)—The heat of the summer 1652, and the earliness of the harvest, had not been attended with such plenty as to produce extraordinary cheapness. During this summer of 1653, wheat was £1, 5*s.* sterling per boll, and the inferior grains about 20*s.* An excellent crop having been secured, 'the prices fell strangely, so that from Michaelmas till the end of the year, oats were at [6*s.* 8*d.*] per boll, and wheat [11*s.* 8*d.* and 13*s.* 4*d.*].'—*Lam.*

The Trembling Exies—that is, ague—was this year 'exceeding frequent through all parts of this nation, in such condition as was never seen before . . . . the smallpox also, whereof many people, both old and young, perished.'—*Nic.*

1654.

Mar.—From October by-past to this date, the weather was dry and fair to such a degree as to make the period like a second summer. Nicoll states that, in all that time, there had not been above six showers of wet or snow, and two of these fell on Sundays.

May 4.—General Monk coming down to Edinburgh to take command of the forces against Glencairn and Kenmure, and to proclaim Oliver's union of Scotland and England, had a most honourable reception. 'The provost and bailies in their scarlet gowns met him at the Nether Bow Port, the haill council in order going before them.' After the proclamation, they 'did convoy him to a sumptuous dinner and feast, prepared by the town of Edinburgh for him and his special crowners [colonels]. This feast was six days in preparing, *whereat the bailies of Edinburgh did stand and serve the haill time of that dinner.*' 'There was great preparation for firewarks, whilk was actit at the Mercat Cross betwixt nine and twelve hours in the nicht, to the admiration of many people.'—*Nic.*

Next day was proclaimed an act of *grace*, forfaulting the heirs of the Duke of Hamilton and some score of other nobles, and imposing huge fines upon sundry others; for example, £15,000 on the heirs of the Earl of Buccleuch, £10,000 on the Earl of Panmure, £6000 on the Earl of Roxburghe, £5000 on the Earl of Perth, and the latter sum and other sums down to £1000 on upwards of fifty others, noblemen and gentlemen [these sums being of sterling money]. Landed proprietors, merchants, and indeed the entire community, were now in a state of prostration in consequence of the wars. According to the diarist Nicoll—'The poverty of the land daily increased, by reason of inlaik of trade and traffic, both by sea and land, the people being poor and under cess, quarterings, and other burdens.'

In April of this year, an additional trouble and burden fell upon the people, in consequence of the royalist insurrections, no person being now allowed to travel from home without a pass, for which a shilling sterling was charged.

The summer of this year was exceedingly fine, producing ripe peas and cherries at the beginning of June, and yielding an early and abundant harvest; so that the best oatmeal was only fourpence sterling per peck. 'The lambs and fowls were also at ane exceeding cheap rate' (*Nic.*), and it is also stated that, from the abundance of herrings in the west seas, these fish were sold so low as twopence a hundred. Cheese was, in the west country, at 2*s.* 6*d.* sterling per stone.—*Caldwell Papers.* This bounty of Providence is not spoken of by contemporary journalists as abating in any degree the sufferings of the people, though these, we cannot doubt, would have been much greater if there had been a dearth. Just at this time, Nicoll returns to the subject of the general distresses of the country. 'Much people,' he says, 'were brought to misery,' and the land 'groaned under its calamities and burdens.'

Owing to the drought of the summer, the wells on which Edinburgh depended for water ran dry, 'sae that the inhabitants could not get sufficient for ordering their meat.' Nevertheless, 'all the *west country* had more than ordinar abundance of rain and weet.'—*Nic.* The same writer adds afterwards that the people of Edinburgh were obliged to go a mile before they could get any clean water, 'either for brewing of ale, or for their pot meat.'

June.—This seems to have been the time when the word *Tories*, since so notable, was introduced into our island. It had been first applied to a set of predatory outlaws in Ireland. Thus becoming familiar as a term for brigands, it naturally was applied to a number of irregular soldiers connected with the insurgent army of the Earl of Glencairn, who, according to Nicoll, lay in holes and other private places, and robbed and spoiled all who fell into their hands, '*ofttimes with the purse cutting the throat of the awner.*' The English troops bestirred themselves to capture these Tories, and in July, *eight* were taken out of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and as many out of the Canongate jail, besides others from Perth and Dundee, and shipped at Leith to be sold as slaves in Barbadoes.—*Nic.*

Oct.—In the course of this month, a number of hares came into the city of Edinburgh, even into its central parts, the High Street and Parliament Close, 'to the great admiration of many.' 'The like was never heard nor seen before.'—*Nic.* This singular circumstance was probably in some way a consequence of the dry nature of the season.

Nov.—At this time commenced the series of alleged incidents constituting the once famous history of the Devil of Glenluce.

A poor weaver named Gilbert Campbell, at Glenluce in Galloway, had given offence to a sturdy beggar, named Agnew, 'a most wicked and avowed atheist, for which he was hanged at Dumfries.' The wretch went away muttering that he would do the family a mischief. Whether before or after Agnew's death does not appear, the weaver and his family began to be annoyed with whistling noises, and by petty acts of mischief—as the mislaying and destroying of little articles, and the throwing of stones and peats, all by unseen hands. Their clothes were sometimes drawn from them as they lay in bed. At the suggestion of some neighbours, Campbell sent away his children, and for the time peace ensued. So it was, after all except Tom had been brought back, and *not so after Tom had returned likewise;* but, to show that this was a point of indifference, when Tom had been again sent away in the keeping of the minister of the parish, the annoyances recommenced. This lad, it may be remarked, said he had heard a voice warning him not to go back to his father's house; and when he did return, he was 'sore abused,' and thus once more driven away.

In February, the family began to hear a voice speak to them, but could not tell whence it came. 'They came at length in familiar discourse with the foul thief, that they were no more afraid to keep up the clash with him than to speak with one another; in this they pleased him well, for he desired no better than to have sacrifices offered to him. The minister, hearing of this, went to the house upon the Tuesday, being accompanied by some gentlemen; one James Bailie of Carphin, Alexander Bailie of Dunragget, Mr Robert Hay, and a gentlewoman called

Mrs Douglas, with the minister's wife, did accompany. At their first coming in, the devil says: "*Quam literarum* is good Latin." These are the first words of the Latin Rudiments, which scholars are taught when they go to the grammar-school. He cries again: "A dog!" The minister, thinking he had spoken it to him, said: "He took it not ill to be reviled by Satan, since his Master had trodden that path before him." Answered Satan: "It was not you, sir, I spoke to; I meant the dog there;" for there was a dog standing behind backs. This passing, they all went to prayer; which being ended, they heard a voice speaking out of the ground, from under the bed, in the proper country dialect, which he did counterfeit exactly, saying: "Would you know the witches of Glenluce? I will tell you them;" and so related four or five persons' names that went under a bad report. The weaver informed the company that one of them was dead long ago. The devil answered and said: "It is true she is dead long ago, but her spirit is living with us in the world." The minister replied, saying (though it was not convenient to speak to such an excommunicated and intercommuned person): "The Lord rebuke thee, Satan, and put thee to silence; we are not to receive information from thee, whatsoever name any person goes under; thou art seeking but to seduce this family, for Satan's kingdom is not divided against itself." After which, all went to prayer again, which being ended—for during the time of prayer no noise or trouble was made, except once that a loud fearful yell was heard at a distance, the devil threatening and terrifying the lad Tom, who had come back that day with the minister, "that if he did not depart out of the house, he would set all on fire"—says the minister: "The Lord will preserve the house, and the lad too, seeing he is one of the family, and had God's warrant to tarry in it." The fiend answered: "He shall not get liberty to tarry; he was once put out already, and shall not abide here, though I should pursue him to the end of the world." The minister replied: "The Lord will stop thy malice against him."'

After a great deal of the like talk with the unseen tormentor, ending with a declaration from him that he was an evil spirit

come from the bottomless pit to vex this house, and that Satan was his father, 'there appeared a naked hand, and an arm from the elbow down, beating upon the floor till the house did shake again.' This the minister attested, and also that he heard the voice saying: 'Saw you that? It was not my hand—it was *my father's;* my hand is more black in the loof [palm].'

Sinclair, who relates these things (*Satan's Invisible World Discovered*), states that he received them from a son of Campbell, who was at Glasgow College with him.

1655.

Feb.—In consequence of excessively stormy weather this month, many thousands of dead eels were cast out upon the banks of the North Loch at Edinburgh, 'to the admiration of many.'—*Nic.*

A severe frost set in, and continued till the middle of April, to the interruption of farmwork; and it was deemed necessary to announce a fast for an early day. 'No sooner was this fast and humiliation intimate from the pulpits of Edinburgh, but it seemed—and there was no doubt—the Lord was weel pleased; and it was his pleasure to tryst the desire of the people with fair and seasonable weather.'—*Nic.*

May.—We incidentally learn the wages of a skilled artisan in Scotland at this time from the account which Lamont gives of the expense of slating and *pointing* the house of Lundie in Fife. The work was done by David Brown, slater in Anstruther, and his son, and so well, he said, that it would not need to be touched again for seven years. David and his son were paid for this work—their diet in the house during the twenty-four working-days they were engaged upon it, and twenty-four shillings Scots, or *two shillings sterling*, per day, in money.

July.—On a Sunday, at the close of this month, the communion was administered in Edinburgh, the first time after an interval of six years, for so long had the rite been discontinued in the capital and other parts of the kingdom, by reason of the troubles and divisions which had prevailed.

From one disqualification and another, 'much people was debarred.'—*Nic.*

Oct.—Owing to the dearth of victual, the burdens of the people were felt as more than ever oppressive. Yet at this crisis, the cess imposed by the English was augmented a fifth. In Edinburgh, another cess was imposed, 'for buying of horse and carts, for carrying away and transporting of the filth, muck, and fulzie out of the closes and causey of Edinburgh; whilk [the tax] much grievit the people, and so much the more because the people receivit no satisfaction for their money, but the causey and closes continued more and more filthy, and no pains taken for clenging the streets.'—*Nic.*

Rather oddly, the more the poverty of the people increased, vanity the more abounded; 'for at this time it was daily seen that gentlewomen and burgesses' wives had more gold and silver about their gown and wyliecoat tails nor their husbands had in their purses and coffers.' 'Therefore great judgment was evidently seen upon the land, and the Lord's hand stretched out still.'—*Nic.*

The Edinburgh municipality, though it had for some time had a plack on every pint of ale sold in the city, was 1,100,000 merks [upwards of £61,000] in debt. 'Oh, for the miseries of kirk and state at this time!' exclaims Nicoll. 'The Lord's anger hot against both, and nane to stand up in the gap.'

1656.

Apr.—The spring being alarmingly bad, 'the presbytery of Lothian did conclude a fast to be keepit in the beginning of May; whilk was keepit in all the kirks of the presbytery, and although with great waikness, yet it wanted not the awn happy effect and blessing, for frae that day the Lord did produce much fair and pleasant weather,' and 'the like summer and harvest was never seen in this age.'—*Nic.*

June.—It is remarked how much of deceit and cheating was practised at this time among certain traders in Edinburgh. The

beer, ale, and wine sold in the city were all greatly adulterated. It was customary to mix wine with milk, brimstone, and other ingredients. 'Ale was made strong and heady with hempseed, coriander-seed, Turkish pepper, soot, salt, and by casting in strong wash under the caldron when the ale was in brewing.' Blown mutton and corrupted veal, fusty bread and light loaves, false measures and weights, were common. In all these particulars, the magistrates were negligent, so that 'the people were abused and neglectit.'—*Nic.*

Aug. 17.—At four o'clock in the morning, according to Baillie, there was 'a sensible earthquake' in all parts of the town of Glasgow, 'though I felt it not.' 'Five or six years ago, there was ane other in the afternoon, which I felt, and was followed by that fearful burning, and all the other shaking [that] has been among us since. The Lord preserve us from his too well-deserved judgments!'

1657.

June.—The magistrates of Glasgow at this time provided themselves with an engine 'for the occasion of sudden fire, in spouting out of water thereon,' after the form of one recently established in Edinburgh.—*M. of G.*

Sep.—The magistrates of Glasgow, feeling the need for 'ane diurnal'—that is, newspaper, a luxury hitherto little known in Scotland—'appoint John Fleming to write to his man wha lies at London' to cause one be sent for the town's use. Before this time, it appears that John Nicoll, a legal agent in Edinburgh, often quoted here on account of his *Diary*, had supplied the magistrates of Glasgow with weekly intelligence.

Dec.—Notwithstanding a good harvest, 'poverty and scarcity of money daily increased, by reason of the great burdens and charges imposed upon the people, which constrained them to sell not only their lands and estates, but even their household geir, insight, and plenishing, and some their claiths and

habulyiements. Witness the bell, which did daily ring in Edinburgh, making intimation to the inhabitants of such frequent rouping as was in use.'—*Nic.*

1658.

May.—Stage-coaches were at this time advertised to go from 'the George Inn without Aldersgate' to sundry parts of England thrice a week; to Leeds, Wakefield, and Halifax once a week, charge 40*s.*; to Durham and Newcastle, once a week, charge £3; and 'to *Edinburgh in Scotland*, once in three weeks, for £4, 10*s.*'—in all cases, 'with good coaches and fresh horses on the roads.'—*Mercurius Politicus.*

Oct. 1.—A supplication was this day given in to the town-council of Glasgow by one Robert Marshall, showing that he was willing, if permitted, to exercise the calling of a house-painter in the city. The council, having had it represented to them that there was 'but one the like within this burgh, and not ane other in all the west of Scotland,' gave Robert permission to wash and paint houses to any who pleased to employ him.—*M. of G.*

This gives a curious idea of Glasgow two centuries ago. The magistrates had a little before this time induced a printer to come from Edinburgh and settle amongst them. The man does not seem to have succeeded, for, in May 1660, they give him fifty merks, 'to help to transport his guids and flitting to Edinburgh again.' A few months afterwards, Robert Sanders was encouraged to set up a printing-office in Glasgow, with a pension of £40 a year, 'he to print gratis anything that the town shall employ him to print.' In 1660, they caused a plasterer to be sent for from Perth, 'to come here for plastering of Hucheson's Hospital.'—*M. of G.*

1659.

Jan.—The people of Edinburgh were regaled with the sight of a travelling dromedary, probably the first that had ever come into Scotland. 'It was very big,' says Nicoll, 'of great height, and cloven-footed like a cow, and on the back ane seat, as it were a saddle to sit on.' 'Being kept close in the Canongate,

none had a sight of it without threepence the person. There was brought in with it ane little baboon, faced like unto an ape.'

Jan.—At this time the public received a great surprise in the sudden reappearance of a nobleman, Lord Belhaven, who was understood to have been dead for the last six years and upwards. At the forfeiture of the Hamilton family under the English tyranny, Lord Belhaven found himself engaged as security to the creditors of that house for a much larger sum than he could pay; so, to escape comprisings of his lands and imprisonment of his person, he fell upon an extraordinary expedient. He took a journey to England, and when he had passed Solway Sands, he caused his servant to come back to his wife with his cloak and hat, and had it given out that he and his horse had sunk in the quicksands, and were drowned. None were privy to the secret but his lady and the servant. The report passed everywhere as authentic, and to make it more plausible, his lady and children went in mourning for two years. Passing into England, Lord Belhaven put on a mean suit of apparel, hired himself to be a gardener, and worked at this humble employment during the whole time of his absence, no one knowing this part of his course but his lady. During his absence, his only son, 'a very hopeful youth and pretty scholar,' was struck with a fever, which in a few days carried him off. 'In this real death by God's hand, who will not be mocked, the hope of that house perished.'—*Bail.* The Duchess of Hamilton having at length come to a composition with her creditors, his lordship returned to Scotland, and resumed his rank, 'to the admiration of many.'—*Nic.*

June 21.—This day, Heriot's Hospital, which had been founded in 1628, being now complete, was solemnly dedicated by the ceremony of a preaching in the presence of the magistrates of Edinburgh, the preacher, Mr Robert Douglas, receiving five double pieces for his pains. There were placed in it 'thirty-five boys, of honest parents, but decayit in means, all of them weel arrayit in purpour clothes and cassocks.' 'This hospital,'

says Nicoll, 'was not ane ordinary hospital, but a hospital very famous, with halls, chalmers, kitchens, brew-houses, yards, orchards, a chapel, and all other necessaries.'

Sep. 1.—The town of Edinburgh obtained an additional impost upon the ale sold in its bounds; it was now a full penny sterling a pint, so that the liquor rose to the unheard-of price of 32*d.* Scots for that quantity. 'Yet this imposition,' says Nicoll, 'seemed not to thrive; for at the same instant God frae the heavens declared his anger by sending thunder, and unheard tempests, and storms, and inundations of water, whilk destroyed their common mills, dams, and warks, to the town's great charges and expenses.' Eleven mills belonging to Edinburgh, and five belonging to Heriot's Hospital, all upon the Water of Leith, were destroyed on this occasion, 'with their dams, water-gangs, timber and stone warks, the haill wheels of their mills, timber graith, and haill other warks.' The chronicler, somewhat awkwardly for his hypothesis, admits that many neighbouring towns suffered by the like destruction of their mills.

Dunnottar Castle.

Reign of Charles the Second.

1660–1673.

THE wild joy with which the people of England hailed the close of anarchy and military tyranny in the restoration of Charles II. to the throne, was fully participated in Scotland by a small loyalist party. The bulk of the community were also made happy by the event, for they were pleased to see the monarchy restored, accompanied as the event was by the revival of their national independence ; but the general happiness was mixed with anxiety regarding the fate of their favourite Church, to which they had long been accustomed to consider all other institutions as subordinate.

Very naturally, the men of high rank who had done and suffered most for the cause of monarchy in the late evil days were appointed to be at the head of affairs in Scotland. The Earl of Glencairn, chief of the guerrilla resistance to Cromwell in 1653, was made Chancellor. Major-general Middleton, who had finally commanded in that insurrection, and was now promoted to the peerage as Earl of Middleton, was appointed to be his majesty's commissioner to parliament. The Earls of Crawford and Lauderdale, Presbyterian monarchists of 1650-1, who had since suffered a ten years' imprisonment in England, were made respectively Lord Treasurer and Secretary of State. With them came a host of inferior officials, all more or less under a sense of suffering through over-zealous Presbyterianism, and mostly eager to repair their broken fortunes at the expense of their enemies. At the same time, the Courts of Session and Justiciary were reconstructed, in place of the English judicatories which had sat for the last eight years.

The vengeance of the new government fell only on those who had carried the Presbyterian views to a disloyal extreme, or who

had complied with Cromwell. The chief victim was the Marquis of Argyll, who no doubt had placed the crown on the king's head at Scone in 1651, but who had also been the prime leader in nearly all those movements subsequent to 1638, which had been so destructive to the interests of royalty.

The one great subject remaining for consideration was the Church —how was it to be settled? The moderate or Resolutionist party in the Church, being the great majority, had sent Mr James Sharpe, minister of Crail, to represent their interests in the little body of men surrounding the king at his return from the continent. But Mr Sharpe proved unable to resist the contagion of feeling to which he was exposed; he was induced to consent to the restoration of prelacy, and to take the position of primate. The Presbyterians considered themselves as betrayed by their own representative. The bishops of 1638 being all dead but one, and he unable to travel, Sharpe and three other Presbyterian clergymen received the rite of consecration in London, and, returning, imparted it to the other bishops in Holyrood Church. In May 1662, an act of the Estates formally reconstituted the Church on the Episcopal model; the bulk of the people quietly submitting to what they could not resist, while the more earnest regarded it as a desertion of Christ's own standard, calculated to bring down judgments upon the land.

The new Church had scarcely been constituted, when the unwiseness of the step might have easily been seen. The clergy generally, but especially in the south-western counties, showed their unwillingness to give up their collective powers into the hands of the bishops. On a precipitate edict of the Archbishop of Glasgow, calling on the ministers of his province who had been inducted since 1649 to take out new presentations from the patrons, and receive collation from their bishops, three hundred and fifty, being a third of the entire Church, resigned their cures. The people therefore began to desert the parish churches, and hold private meetings for worship under the displaced clergy. The extruded ministers were forbidden to live within or near their former parishes, lest their people should attend their ministrations. The people of those parishes were commanded under heavy pains to attend the regular church, however odious the new minister might be to them. Even to go to the church of some neighbouring parish where there was still one of the old clergy officiating, was forbidden under the like penalties. Finally, bodies of soldiery were sent to raise the fines, or to exact free quarters till the fines were paid. These soldiers would enter the churches of the

old Presbyterian clergy yet in possession of their pulpits, noting such of the congregation as could not swear that they belonged to the parish, taking the money from their pockets, or stripping them of articles of wearing apparel, as a punishment for their breach of law. In some districts, where a very earnest feeling of religion prevailed, the people were harassed and impoverished to a degree that made them anxious to leave their native country.

Middleton's administration came to a sudden close in 1663, in consequence of an intrigue against Lauderdale; and the latter noble then succeeded to the chief power. Although he had been a Presbyterian, and was not originally in favour of setting up the Episcopal Church, his rule brought no relief. Still, there was a certain leniency in high quarters, till Sharpe, in order to secure unfaltering severity, obtained the erection of a court of commission, in which the prelates should have chief sway. Then came a mercilessness greater than before. The doings of the soldiery were such as to produce an approach to desolation in certain districts. Ministers, for merely performing worship in their own houses, were thrown into vile prisons, or banished to half-desert islands. Even to give charity to any of the proscribed clergy was declared to be a crime. When the war with Holland commenced in the spring of 1665, it was feared that there would be an insurrection in the west of Scotland, and the whole district was consequently disarmed. Nevertheless, in November of the ensuing year, the extreme severity of the soldiery under Sir James Turner occasioned a partial resistance at Dalry, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and in a little time a small body of insurgents was collected. Marching through Ayrshire, their numbers increased to about two thousand, and they then turned towards Edinburgh, where they expected considerable accessions. It was a hasty and ill-considered affair, springing merely from the sense of intolerable suffering. The government, having a small standing army at its disposal, was at no moment in the least danger. About nine hundred poor half-armed peasants made a final stand at Rullion Green, on the eastern skirts of the Pentland Hills, where they were attacked by a strong body of dragoons under Sir Thomas Dalyell, routed, and dispersed (November 28, 1666). Many were killed on the field and in the pursuit, and eighteen were afterwards executed in Edinburgh. Several of these were previously tortured to extort confession, the instrument used being a loose frame of wood called the *Boot*, into which wedges were driven so as to crush the limb of the prisoner. Thirty-five more were executed in the country,

not without some difficulty to the authorities, as the executioners generally refused to exercise their profession against such culprits.

Soon after this time, the extreme severity of the government in Scotland made itself heard of and felt at court, and orders were sent down for the adoption of gentler measures. In 1668, a milder rule was established under the Earl of Tweeddale, who would at once have proceeded to grant some 'indulgence' to the Presbyterians, but for an attempt being made to shoot Archbishop Sharpe, as he was about to step into his carriage in Edinburgh. As it was, the Indulgence was granted next year, and consisted in permitting such of the extruded clergy as had lived peaceably to return to their parishes when a vacancy occurred, receiving the whole temporalities if they should take collation from the bishops; and where they did not, to be allowed the use of the manse and glebe; further, allowing four hundred merks per annum to all *outed* ministers, while unpresented to charges, provided they had lived peaceably, and would agree to do so in future. This was in reality a measure of greater generosity than the Presbyterian Church had ever extended to dissenters; yet it was not attended with much good.

1660.

Sep. 13.—The Letter-office at Edinburgh was in 1649 under the care of Mr John Mean, a merchant noted throughout the reign of Charles I. for his zeal as a Presbyterian; which, however, had not forbidden him to be also a strenuous loyalist. Latterly, the same function had been bestowed upon Messrs Mew and Barringer, who, from their names, may be supposed to have been Englishmen, friends of the Cromwellian rule. At the date now noted, the king bestowed the office upon Robert Mean, superseding the two above-mentioned officials, and the Committee of Estates accordingly inducted him, 'requiring the postmaster of Haddington to direct the packets constantly from time to time to the said Robert Mean, and cause the same to be delivered to him at Edinburgh.'—*R. C. E.*

Sep. 28.—William Woodcock, 'late officer in Leith,' was this day licensed by the magistrates of Edinburgh to set up 'ane hackney-coach, for service of his majesty's lieges, betwixt

Leith and Edinburgh.' The hire up and down for a single person was to be a shilling; and if the person engaging the carriage chose to wait for one or two persons more to accompany him, the same fare was to be sufficient. 'If any mae nor three, each man to pay four shillings Scots [fourpence sterling] for their hire; and the persons coming up to Edinburgh, to light at the foot of Leith Wynd, for the steyness [steepness] thereof.' This arrangement was not to prevent Woodcock from 'serving others going to and from the country to other places, as he and they can agree.'

1661.

Jan. 7.—By order of the king, the magistracy of Edinburgh raised the trunk of the Marquis of Montrose from under the gallows on the Burgh-moor, in presence of a great number of nobles, gentlemen, and others, who expressed the most lively interest in the scene.[1] This relic being wrapped in 'curious cloths' and put into a coffin, was carried along under a velvet canopy to the Tolbooth, the nobles and gentry attending on horseback, while many thousands followed on foot, colours at the same time flying, drums beating, trumpets sounding, muskets cracking, and cannon roaring from the Castle. At the Tolbooth, the head of the Great Marquis, which had grinned there for ten years, was taken reverentially down, 'some bowing, some kneeling, some kissing it,' and deposited in its proper place in the coffin, 'with great acclamations of joy,' the trumpets, drums, and cannon giving all possible éclat to the act. The coffin was then carried in solemn procession to the Palace, to rest till a proper funeral ceremony should be ordered. While the 'excommunicat traitor' of 1650 was thus treated, the triumphant and all-powerful noble of that time, the Marquis of Argyll, was a prisoner in the Castle, waiting a doom which was precisely to resemble that of Montrose, excepting in some particulars of inhumanity, which vengeful loyalty could not descend to.

The Presbyterian historians, however, have taken care to chronicle that the Laird of Gorthie, who took the head off the

[1] See page 282.

spike, died within a few hours, and the Laird of Pitcur, one of Montrose's great adherents, went to bed in health, and was found dead next morning. This was a mysterious circumstance, which would probably be cleared up if we had a return of the quantity of brandy which Gorthie and Pitcur had drunk on the occasion. 'Such was the testimony of honour Heaven was pleased,' says worthy Mr Kirkton, 'to allow Montrose's pompous funerals.'

The four members of Montrose were also recovered from the four towns, Glasgow, Perth, Stirling, and Aberdeen, to which they had been severally sent for ignominious exhibition; and these being now placed in the coffin, the body was complete as far as circumstances permitted, excepting that the heart remained in the silver case where Lady Napier had enshrined it, and in which it continued to be preserved, under the care of the Napier family, till the period of the French Revolution.

Four months afterwards (May 11), the ceremonial funeral of Montrose was performed with an amount of joyful display that rendered it a most singular affair. The bells rang all the time while the corpse of Montrose went on to its final honourable resting-place in St Giles's Cathedral. It was remarked that this was a funeral where the relatives of the deceased wore countenances of joy, while there were others, not related to him, who beheld it with sadness and gloom, or shrunk aside into holes and corners, not daring to look upon it.

Jan. 8.—This day appeared the first number of the first original newspaper attempted in Scotland. It was a small weekly sheet, entitled *Mercurius Caledonius; comprising the Affairs now in Agitation in Scotland, with a Survey of Foreign Intelligence.* The editor was Thomas Sydserf, or Saint Serf, son of a former bishop of Galloway, who was soon after promoted to the see of Orkney. Principal Baillie alludes to this 'diurnaler' in bitter terms—'a very rascal, a profane atheistical papist, as some count him;' the truth being that he was an Episcopalian loyalist of merely a somewhat extravagant type. Little is known of his previous history, beyond his having borne arms under Montrose, and

published in London in 1658 a translation from the French under the title of *Entertainments of the Cours, or Academicall Conversations*, dedicated to the young Marquis of Montrose. Of the *Mercurius Caledonius*, only nine numbers were published, the last being dated March 28, 1661. It must be admitted that the style of composition and editorship was frivolous and foolish to a degree surprising even for that delirious period.

Mar.—Horse-races were now performed every Saturday on the sands of Leith. They are regularly chronicled amongst the foolish lucubrations of *Mercurius Caledonius;* as, for example, thus: 'Our accustomed recreations on the sands of Leith was much hindered because of a furious storm of wind, accompanied with a thick snow; yet we have had some noble gamesters that were so constant at their sport as would not forbear a designed horse-match. It was a providence the wind was from the sea; otherwise they had run a hazard either of drowning or splitting upon Inchkeith! This tempest was nothing inferior to that which was lately in Caithness, where a bark of fifty ton was blown five furlongs into the land, and would have gone further if it had not been arrested by the steepness of a large promontory.'

In the ensuing month, there were races at Cupar in Fife, where the Lairds of Philiphaugh and Stobbs, and Powrie-Fotheringham appear to have been the principal gentlemen who brought horses to the ground. A large silver cup, of the value of £18, formed the chief prize. These Cupar races were repeated annually. It is said they had been first instituted in 1621.—*Lam.*

May 27.—'At two afternoon, the Marquis of Argyll was brought forth of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, fra the whilk he was conveyed by the magistrates to the place of execution; the town being all in arms, and the life-guard mounted on horse-back, with their carabines and drawn swords. The marquis, having come to the scaffold, with sundry of his friends in murning apparel, he made a large speech; after whilk and a

short prayer, he committed himself to the block. His head was stricken from his body, and affixed upon the head of the Tolbooth, where the Marquis of Montrose['s] was affixed of before. It was thought great favour that he was not drawn and quartered.'—*Nic.*

Aug. 17.—This day, John Ray, the eminent naturalist, entered Scotland for a short excursion. In the *Itineraries* which he has left, he gives, besides zoological observations, some notes on general matters. 'The Scots, generally (that is, the poorer sort), wear, the men blue bonnets on their heads, and some russet; the women only white linen, which hangs down their backs as if a napkin were pinned about them. When they go abroad, none of them wear hats, but a party-coloured blanket which they call a plaid, over their heads and shoulders. The women, generally, to us seemed none of the handsomest. They are not very cleanly in their houses, and but sluttish in dressing their meat. Their way of washing linen is to tuck up their coats, and tread them with their feet in a tub. They have a custom to make up the fronts of their houses, even in their principal towns, with fir-boards nailed one over another, in which are often made many round holes or windows to put out their heads [called *shots* or *shot-windows*]. In the best Scottish houses, even the king's palaces, the windows are not glazed throughout, but the upper part only; the lower have two wooden shuts or folds to open at pleasure and admit

Half-glazed Window of Seventeenth Century.

the fresh air. The Scots cannot endure to hear their country or countrymen spoken against. They have neither good bread, cheese, or drink. They cannot make them, nor will they learn. Their butter is very indifferent, and one would wonder how they could contrive to make it so bad. They use much pottage, made of coal-wort, which they call keal, sometimes broth of decorticated barley. The ordinary country houses are pitiful cots, built of stone, and covered with turves, having in them but one room, many of them no chimneys, the windows very small holes, and not glazed. In the most stately and fashionable houses in great towns, instead of ceiling, they cover the chambers with fir-boards, nailed on the roof within side. They have rarely any bellows or warming-pans. It is the manner in some places there to lay on but one sheet as large as two, turned up from the feet upwards. The ground in the valleys and plains bears good corn, but especially beer-barley, or bigge, and oats, but rarely wheat and rye. We observed little or no fallow-grounds in Scotland; some layed ground we saw which they manured with sea-wreck (sea-weeds). The people seem to be very lazy, at least the men, and may be frequently observed to plough in their cloaks. It is the fashion of them to wear cloaks when they go abroad, especially on Sundays. They lay out most they are worth in clothes, and a fellow that hath scarce ten groats besides to help himself with, you shall see him come out of his smoky cottage clad like a gentleman.'

1662.

This was a year of uncommon abundance, in both grain and fruit, 'the like never seen heretofore.' 'The streets of Edinburgh were filled full of all sorts of fruits . . . . sold exceeding cheap.'—*Nic.*

Oct. 15.—Died, the Earl of Balcarres, a boy. 'The lady his mother caused open him, and in his heart was found a notched stone, the bigness of one's five fingers, Dr Martin and John Gourlay [apothecary] being present at his embalming.'—*Lam.*

Nov.—The clergymen of Edinburgh, five in number, were all displaced for nonconformity to the new Episcopal rule, excepting one, Mr Robert Lowrie, who consequently obtained the name of the *Nest Egg*. He became Dean of Edinburgh. The inhabitants of the city, not relishing the new ministers, began to desert the churches and go to worship elsewhere. At the same time, the Monday's sermon, which had for some years been in use, was discontinued.

1663.

Mar.—'There was ane lioness brought to Edinburgh with ane lamb in its company, with whom she did feed and live; wha did embrace the lamb in her arms, as gif it had been her awn birth.'—*Nic.*

'This year was a very plentiful year of corns and stone-fruit,' and the ensuing winter was 'exceeding fair and warm weather, without any frost or snow.'—*Nic.*

1664.

Jan.—This month and the succeeding, there were many robberies throughout the country, and even in the streets and closes of Edinburgh, 'occasioned by the poverty of the land, and heavy burdens pressing upon the people; the haill money of the kingdom being spent by the frequent resort of our Scotsmen at the court of England.'—*Nic.*

Apr. 20.—One James Elder, a baker in the Canongate, Edinburgh, was tried for usury. The witnesses deponed that they saw him receive eight per cent. from his debtor, and one of them deponed that he refused to accept six per cent. till he got two per cent. more. Being found guilty, his goods were escheat, and he ordered to find security that he would be ready to undergo any further punishment that might be inflicted upon him.

What was then, partly under religious feelings, regarded as a crime, has since come to be held as legitimate traffic; and it is not unworthy of remark that the Bank of England was, at the time of the preparation of this article (November 1857),

charging two per cent. more on bills than that rate of interest which caused James Elder in 1664 to forfeit his whole possessions.

July 15.—The Earl of Leven, a young man, grandson of the great commander, ended his life in a manner characteristic of this mad-merry time. 'He died of a high fever, after a large carouse with the Earl of Dundee at Edinburgh and the Queensferry. Some say that, in crossing, they drank sea-water one to another, and, after their landing, sack.' A funeral sermon was preached for him, on the text, 'Our life is but a vapour, &c.,' being 'the first funeral sermon that hath been preached in Fife these twenty-four years last past, or more.'—*Lam.*

This year, like the two preceding, was remarkable for abundance of the fruits of the earth. 'Much corn cuttit down in July . . . . the cherries sold at twelve pennies Scots [that is, one penny sterling] the hundred.' Great penury nevertheless complained of.—*Nic.*

Dec.—'There appeared nightly, frae four hours in the morning till daylight, ane fiery comet, tending in our sight frae the south-east to the north-west, and seen in our horizon betwixt Arthur's Seat and Pichtland [Pentland] Hills, with ane tail terrible to the beholders. . . . . This comet, in the head, was, in our sight, the breadth of ane reasonable man's hand, and sprang out in the tail the length of five or six ells.'—*Nic.* It 'began to appear about three o'clock in the morning, very terrible in its first apparition; after that, it appeared at evening. It was a star of a more dim and bluish apparition (like a candle dying out) than the rest of the stars, with a long train of lightning from it, sometimes a fathom and a half in appearance, sometimes shorter.'—*Lam.*

About the end of this year, Sharpe, Archbishop of St Andrews, purchased the lands of Scotscraig, a good estate in Fife, at

95,000 merks or thereby (about £5540). In the spring of 1669, he made a further purchase of the lands of Strathtyrum, near St Andrews, for about 27,000 merks. These doings argue the lucrative nature of the preferments for which Sharpe, as his brethren believed, had sold his party and his conscience. He had a brother William, who was at the same time rising in prosperity, and who, in 1665, bought the lands of West Newton, near Musselburgh, now called Stonyhill, at 27,000 merks. This William Sharpe was knighted by the Commissioner Lauderdale in 1669.

1665.

Feb.—In the latter part of this month, for several days, 'there appeared in the clear light of day, even at twelve, one, and two o'clock, and also in the haill afternoon, ane fiery blazing star in the firmament. This star continued and increased daily and nightly thereafter, by the space of many weeks, sometimes having a great brugh [a halo] about it like the moon.'—*Nic.*

Snow had begun at Christmas 1664, and it lay upon the ground till the 14th of March this year—a storm of which the like had not been seen for many years before.—*Nic.* 'Some began to say there would hardly be any seed-time at all this year; but it pleased the Lord, out of His gracious goodness, on a sudden to send seasonable weather for the seed-time, so that in many places the oat seed was sooner done this year [than] in many years formerly; for the long frost made the ground very free, and the husbandmen, for the most part, affirmed they never saw the ground easier to labour.' Many sheep perished during the storm, and the frost was severe enough to kill the broom and whins in many places.—*Lam.*

Apr.—We get some idea of the expense of building at this time, from the sum at which Robert Mylne, master-mason in Edinburgh, undertook to erect a hospital at the kirk-town of Largo. It was a house of fourteen fire-rooms and a public hall; each room containing a bed, a closet, and a loom; besides

which there was a stone bridge at the entry, and a gardener's house, two stories high. 'Some say he was to have for the work, being complete, 9000 merks [£506], and if it was found weel done, 500 merks more.'—*Lam.* In 1661, according to the same diarist, when some mason-work was executed at Lundie, in Fife, the master had tenpence a day, and the other men ninepence, 'and all their diet in the house.'

Nov.—Another good harvest, 'whilk was the cause that a number of fee'd servants, both men and women, did marry at Martinmas, by way of penny-bridals, both within the town of Edinburgh and other parts of the country.'—*Nic.*

1666.

Jan. 1.—Although the preceding had been, according to Nicoll, 'a dangerous, cruel, and bloody year,' and though at this time an order stood forbidding commerce with the plague-stricken south, yet 'upon the 1st day of January 1666, there was *as much drinking and carousing as in former times.*'

Apr. 12.—At a horse-race at Cupar, 'the Lord Lithgow and the Lord Carnegie, after cups, there passed some words betwixt them, and about night they drew off from the rest, on the hill towards Tarbet Broom, and drew their swords one at another, till at last Carnegie gave Lithgow a sore wound. While this was noised abroad, divers of the nobility and others there present did ride to stop them; among whom was the Earl of Wemyss, who, labouring to ride in betwixt the parties, had both his own horse under him and his man's horse thrust through by them, while they were drawing one at another, so that both the horses died; also one of Lord Melville's horses was hurt, and the Lord Newark had one of his servants ridden down also and hurt. At night they were both put under arrest by his majesty's commissioner [the Earl of Rothes] at Cupar, in their several quarters.'—*Lam.*

Sep.—Another excellent harvest was secured in Scotland, and very early.—*Nic.*

The defeat of the insurgents at Rullion Green (November 28), and the subsequent execution of upwards of fifty persons, made it a dreary yet exciting time. 'I have,' says Wodrow, the Presbyterian historian, 'met with several prodigies seen in the air about this time; and persons who lived then, of good information, have left behind them a very strange public passage, that several people about Pittenweem made faith upon, that the night after the battle, and after some of these [subsequent] executions, they heard the voice of a multitude about Gilston Mount praising and singing psalms with the sweetest melody imaginable.'

1667.

Jan. 31.—Heretofore there had been only an irregular transmission of letters by means of foot-messengers between Edinburgh and Aberdeen, and in the latter city there had been 'long experience of the prejudice sustained, not only by the said burgh of Aberdeen, but by the nobility, gentry, and others in the north country, by the miscarrying of missive letters, and by the not timous delivery and receiving returns of the samen.' It was now thought that there ought to be a constant post at Aberdeen, whereby 'every man might have their letters delivered and answers returned at certain diets and times.' It was therefore arranged, with the consent of Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie, his majesty's postmaster-general, that Lieutenant John Wales should establish a regular horse-post at Aberdeen, to carry letters to Edinburgh every Wednesday and Friday, returning every Tuesday and Thursday in the afternoon; every single letter to pay *2s.*, and every double letter *4s.*, every packet *5s.* per ounce (in all cases Scots money). All other posts were discharged. Two years later (January 28, 1669), Inverness became sensible of a need for the same accommodation, though on a humbler footing.

June.—Mr William Douglas, son of the deceased Laird of Whittinghame, was executed for his concern in an unfortunate duel, in which Sir James Home of Eccles was killed. The

affair took its origin in a quarrel in a tavern in Edinburgh, 'after excessive drinking.'—*Lam.*

There was a great drouth this summer, so that the grass was burned up, and the victual whitened before the middle of July, and ripened at the end of that month.—*Lam.*

1668.

May 22.—The town of Kilmarnock was wholly destroyed by an accidental fire, 'wherethrough about sexscore families are set to the fields destitute both of goods and houses'—indeed, 'in a condition of starving.' Matters were the worse for them, by reason that they, 'being all poor tradesmen, and having no other means of livelihood but their daily employment,' had some time before been reduced to 'great misery and affliction,' in consequence of the quartering upon them of a great party of the king's forces, when these were sent to the west to prevent a rebellion. Under the sanction of the Privy Council, a collection was made at the parish churches for the succour of these poor people.

The event is chiefly worthy of notice as marking the smallness of Kilmarnock in those days, when as yet there was no such thing as manufacturing industry in the country. A hundred and twenty families speaks to a population of between five and six hundred. [In 1881, this industrious town contained 24,978 inhabitants within the parliamentary boundaries.]

In April 1669, a fire broke out at midnight in the town of Cupar (Fife), and spread so fast and with such violence, that 'above the number of twenty considerable families being asleep in bed, did, unclothed with their apparel, with great difficulty escape their dwelling-houses,' which were consumed with their entire contents. Thus, not only were these people, with their many young children, 'ruined and reduced to begging,' but 'a great part of that ancient burgh, being the head burgh of the shire, [was] annihilat and turned to desolation.' On a petition, the Privy Council ordered a charitable collection in Fife and the adjacent counties 'for the relief of the poor indigent families of the said ancient burgh.'

July 11.—'Saturday, in the evening, as the Archbishop of St Andrews and Bishop of Orkney were going abroad, the archbishop being in his coach, and the other stepping in, a wicked fellow standing behind the coach did shoot the Bishop of Orkney beneath his right hand; which broke his left arm a little above the wrist with five balls.' So wrote the Privy Council to the king.—*P. C. R.* The assassin was a preacher named James Mitchell, 'a weak scholar,' according to Kirkton, but whom Wodrow describes as 'a youth of much zeal and piety.'

A pleasant year as to weather, and a great crop—nothing better in either respect these sixty years past.—*Lam.*

1669.

Aug. 24.—The marriage-day of the unfortunate *Bride of Baldoon.* The story of this lady has been related with all the graces of fiction in Scott's tale of the *Bride of Lammermoor;* but in its actual circumstances it is sufficiently impressive. She was the Honourable Janet Dalrymple, daughter of the first Lord Stair. While still in girlish years, the young lady contracted a passionate attachment for Lord Rutherford, the distant relative and heir of Andrew Rutherford, Earl of Teviot. The young nobleman returned this affection, and the pair plighted their troth in the usual manner, by parting a coin between them, and imprecating evil upon whoever should withdraw from or violate the compact. But this alliance did not suit the views of the parents, whether from deficient fortune in the young lord, or from contrarious politics, does not appear. They favoured a new suitor who appeared in the person of David Dunbar, younger of Baldoon in Wigtownshire.

On learning that Dunbar was advancing in his suit, Lord Rutherford wrote to his mistress to remind her of her engagement; but received an answer from her mother, to the effect that she was now sensible of the error she had committed in entering into an engagement unsanctioned by the parental authority; and this engagement it was not her intention to fulfil. The lover refused to take an answer which did not come directly from his mistress, and insisted on an interview. It took

place, but in presence of the mother, a woman whom public report represented as master of her husband and whole family, and indebted for this influence to witchcraft, though for no reason that can be discerned beyond her uncommon talents and force of character. It may readily be supposed that even the resources of love would be of poor avail against the skill and resolution of such a person. When Rutherford was introduced he found her ready to meet his arguments with what was then an unanswerable defence, a text of Scripture (Numbers, xxx. 2–5), clearly absolving a woman from a bond entered into in her youth, if her father shall disallow her fulfilment of it, and promising that, in that case, 'the Lord shall forgive her.' The poor girl herself sat mute and overwhelmed, while the lover vainly pleaded against the application of this text; and the scene ended with her surrender of her portion of the broken coin, and his flying distracted from the house, after telling her that she would be a world's wonder from what she had done and was yet to do.

The union with young Baldoon went on, but entirely under the management of the mother, for it is inconceivable that the young man could have pressed his suit, if he had known the extent to which the bride was under constraint. The wedding was celebrated, as was customary in those days, in the presence of the relatives of both parties, and with great festivity; but the bride remained like one lost in a reverie, and who only moves and acts mechanically. A younger brother lived long enough to state to a lady, who communicated the fact to Sir Walter Scott, that he had the duty of carrying her on horseback behind him to church, and he remembered that the hand with which she clasped his waist was 'cold and damp as marble.' 'Full of his new dress, and the part he acted in the procession, the circumstance, which he long afterwards remembered with bitter sorrow and compunction, made no impression on him at the time.'

In the evening, the newly-wedded pair retired to their chamber, while the merry-making still proceeded in the hall. The room had been locked, and the key taken possession of by

the brideman, to prevent any of the unseemly frolics which, it would seem, were sometimes played off on such occasions. But suddenly there was heard to proceed from the bridal chamber a loud and piercing outcry, followed by dismal groans. On its being opened, the alarmed company found the bridegroom weltering in his blood on the threshold, and the bride cowering in a corner of the chimney, with no covering but her shift, and that dabbled in gore. She told them 'to take up their bonny bridegroom.' It was evident she was insane, and the general belief was that she had frantically stabbed her husband. From that moment, she made no other rational communications, but pined away and died in less than three weeks. Young Baldoon recovered, but would never enter into explanations regarding the tragic occurrence. Perhaps it is this mystery alone which has given rise to the favourite belief of the many descendants of Lord Stair, that the wound was not inflicted by their unhappy relative, but by Lord Rutherford, who, they say, secreted himself in the chamber beforehand, and escaped afterwards by a window. This notion seems to us contrary to all probability, not merely because the conception of such an act was too gross for a man of rank even in that day, but because, had it been acted on, something must have come of it, either in the way of private revenge or of procedure before a criminal court. The idea was prevalent at the time; but it may be classed, we think, with another recorded by the credulous Law, that the poor bride was taken from her bed and *harled* through the house by spirits.

David Dunbar is described, in an elegy by Mr Andro Simpson, as a most respectable country gentleman, an agricultural improver, and yet of studious habits. He died by a fall from his horse while riding between Leith and Edinburgh in 1682, and was interred in Holyrood Chapel. Lord Rutherford is stated in the Peerage to have died childless in 1685.

Nov.—Robert Donaldson, of Birdstown in Campsie, being in Edinburgh on business, fell into the company of one Thomas Scott, an English Borderer, who travelled in the equipage of a

gentleman. Scott, learning that Donaldson possessed money, pretended an errand to Glasgow, and so accompanied him on his way home. The two dined at Falkirk together, and then set forward, Donaldson inviting Scott to spend the night with him at his house. Just as they were turned off the main road into that leading to Donaldson's house, Scott gave his travelling companion a stab in the neck with his rapier, and thrust him to the ground, where he cut his throat. Donaldson was, it seems, a strong man, and might have defended himself, if he had not been taken by surprise and encumbered with his cloak, which was buttoned down and heavy with rain. Scott carried off the horse and money of his victim.

Donaldson's servants went in search of the murderer, and had gone many miles in his track when they came up to a carrier wearing their master's hood. When the man was interrogated, he said that he had got the hood from a person now riding on in advance, near Haddington. They soon came up with the said rider, and laid hands on him. He being struck with a panic fear, confessed his guilt, for which he was soon after hanged in Edinburgh.—*Law.*

1670.

Sep.—The Marquis of Douglas, a young man, after being engaged for marriage with the daughter of one Widow Jack, a taverner at Perth, was wedded at Alloa House to Lady Barbara Erskine, daughter of the Earl of Mar.—*Lam.*

This was an unfortunate marriage for the lady. The marquis, a man of profligate conduct, was subsequently led by his factor, Lowrie of Blackwood (said to have been a rejected suitor of the lady), to suspect his marchioness of infidelity, and they were consequently separated, after she had borne him one child. The sorrows of the Marchioness of Douglas were described in a popular ballad of the day, some verses of which constitute the favourite song of *Waly, Waly!*

'O wherefore should I busk my head,
Or wherefore should I kaim my hair,
Since my true love has me forsook,
And says he 'll never love me mair.

Now Arthur's Seat shall be my bed,
The sheets shall ne'er be pressed by me,
St Anton's Well shall be my drink,
Since my true love 's forsaken me.

O Martinmas wind, when wilt thou blaw,
And shake the green leaf aff the tree?
O gentle death, when wilt thou come,
And take a life that wearies me?'

The prose reality of all this was, that the marchioness by-and-by obtained a decree of the Privy Council, allowing her a provision out of her husband's estate.

The marquis, by a subsequent marriage, was the father of the semi-mad Duke of Douglas and of the celebrated Lady Jane Douglas.

1672.

Feb. 26.—From the commencement of the religious troubles in 1638, the Privy Council Record gives comparatively few of those notices of new manufactures attempted in Scotland, or proposed to be introduced by strangers, for which the previous thirty years of peace were so remarkable. Amidst endless notices of religious persecution, it gives an agreeable surprise, at the date noted, to light upon an application from Philip Vander Straten, a native of Bruges, for the benefit of naturalisation and freedom of working and trafficking, while embarking a considerable sum of money in a work at Kelso '*for dressing and refining of wool.*' The petition was at once complied with.—*P. C. R.*

Reign of Charles the Second.

1673–1685.

FOR several years, there was little to be observed regarding Scotland but that the nonconformity of its people in several of the more populous provinces provoked an incessant show of severities on the part of the government. During this time, literature and science remained wholly uncultivated; no department of industry showed any decided tendency to advance.

The persecution for field-meetings became more than ever severe. A calculation has been made that, previously to 1678, seventeen thousand persons had suffered fining and imprisonment on this account. A deep spirit of resentment against the Council, and especially the prelatic part of it, was the natural result of all these occurrences. The wisest and best natures were perverted by feelings which had become morbid by extreme excitement. On the 3d of May 1679, while the public mind was in this condition, a small party of Fife gentlemen went out with the deliberate intention of assassinating the sheriff at a chase. Disappointed in that object, they had not dispersed when a greater victim fell in their way. As they were riding over Magus Moor, near St Andrews, Archbishop Sharpe happened to pass. The opportunity appeared to their minds as a dispensation of Providence. They commanded him to come out of the coach, apparently that his daughter, who was with him, might not suffer from their shot. The archbishop tremblingly obeyed; he flung himself upon his knees, offered them mercy, forgiveness, everything, so that they would spare his life. The leader sternly reminded him of the deadly injuries he had inflicted upon the church and its martyrs. A volley of shot was poured upon his suppliant figure, and finally the unhappy prelate was hewed

down with their swords, crying for mercy with his latest breath. They left his daughter lamenting over his body, which was afterwards found to bear such marks of their barbarity as could scarcely be credited.

This was immediately followed by an insurrection. On the 29th of May, which was the king's birthday, a party of about eighty deliberately marched into the town of Rutherglen, three miles from Glasgow, where they publicly burnt all the acts of parliament against Presbytery. They afterwards extinguished the bonfires, in order to mark their disapprobation of all holidays of human institution, and concluded by fixing upon the cross a declaration of their sentiments respecting the late proceedings of the government. Having done this, they retired to a mountainous part of the country between Lanarkshire and Ayrshire, where there was to be a grand conventicle on the ensuing Sunday. The government looked upon this proceeding as an act of rebellion, and despatched a military party after the offenders, consisting of three troops of newly levied dragoons, under the command of Captain Graham of Claverhouse, a man of remarkable energy of character, who had recently entered the king's service in Scotland. On Sunday, Graham came up with the insurgents at a place near Loudoun Hill, where they were assembled at devotion. They were about forty horse and two hundred foot, under the command of a gentleman named Hamilton, but without the least discipline or acquaintance with military affairs. Graham fired a volley, which they eluded in a great measure by falling upon their faces. He then tried to charge them through a morass, behind which they were placed, but in doing so threw his men into confusion, and exposed himself to the assault of the enemy. They took instant advantage of his distress, attacked the dragoons sword in hand, and soon compelled them to retire. Graham had his horse shot under him, and about twenty of his men were slain, while only one of the insurgents had fallen. A minister and some country-people whom he had brought along with him as prisoners were rescued by the victors.

The broken dragoons retreated to Glasgow, which was then garrisoned by about eight hundred troops. The Privy Council collected all its disposable forces at Edinburgh, and requested instructions from the court. It was speedily determined that the Duke of Monmouth should be sent down to take command of the army. On Sunday, the 22d of June, he had advanced to Bothwell, a village about a mile distant from the insurgent camp. The river

Clyde ran between the two armies, and was only to be crossed by Bothwell Bridge, a long narrow pass, highly capable of defence. That point was stoutly defended, for nearly an hour, by some men from Galloway and Stirlingshire, under Hackstoun of Rathillet. At length, when their ammunition ran short, they sent back to the main body for a supply, which was denied. They were of course obliged to retire, and leave a free passage to the royal troops. When the horse soon after rode off from the field, the foot, left defenceless, could not stand an instant against the charge of the enemy. Excepting twelve hundred, who laid down their arms, the whole body took to flight, without having made the least effort at resistance. About three hundred were cut down in the pursuit.

The prisoners were brought in a body to Edinburgh, and confined, like sheep in a fold, within the gloomy precincts of the Greyfriars' Churchyard, where, for four months, they had no seat or couch but the bare ground, and no covering but the sky. Two clergymen, Kid and King, were executed. Of the rest, all were set at liberty who would own the insurrection to have been *rebellion*, and the slaughter of the archbishop *murder*, and promise never more to take up arms against the government. Those who refused were sent to the Plantations ; a mode of disposing of prisoners which had been introduced by Cromwell.

1673.

The summer of this year was exceedingly wet, and the harvest thereby much endangered.—*Law.*

Most probably, the carriages proposed to be set up in 1610 and 1660 (see pp. 191 and 305), to run between Edinburgh and Leith with a charge of two shillings Scots for each person, were either not realised or quickly withdrawn, for nothing more is heard of them, and we find in 1702 one Robert Miller getting an exclusive privilege of putting coaches on that brief but important route, implying of course that no other such conveyances then existed. Street-carriages, which had been set up in London in the reign of Charles I., did not come into use in Scotland till after the Restoration. On the occasion of the unfortunate duel in 1667 between William Douglas of Whittinghame and Sir J. Home of Eccles, we hear of the parties

going to the ground in a hackney-coach. Six years later, regular arrangements were made by the Edinburgh magistrates for a system of street-carriages, and the number then in service appears to have been twenty. It was ordered that they should be numbered 1, 2, 3, &c., with a view to ready reference in case of any complaint from a passenger, and that they should have a fixed place on the High Street between the heads of Niddry's and Blackfriars' Wynds. The fare to Leith for two or three persons in summer was to be 1*s.* sterling, or for four persons, 1*s.* 4*d.*; the fare to the Abbey, 9*d.*, and as much back again.

1674.

Jan.—At this time commenced a stormy period, which was long memorable in Scotland. It opened with a tempest of east wind, which strewed the coasts of Northumberland and Berwickshire with wrecks. During February, the rough weather continued; and at length, on the 20th of the month, a heavy fall of snow, accompanied by vehement frost, set in, which lasted for thirteen days. This was afterwards remembered by the name of the *Thirteen Drifty Days*. There was no decided improvement of the weather till the 29th of March. 'All fresh waters was frozen as if in the midst of winter; all ploughing and delving of the ground was marred till the aforesaid day; much loss of sheep by the snow, and of whole families in the moor country and highlands; much loss of cows everywhere, also of wild beasts, as doe and roe.'—*Law*. This storm seems to have fallen with greatest severity upon the Southern Highlands. It is stated in the council books of Peebles that 'the most part of the country lost the most part of their sheep and many of their nolt, and many all their sheep. It was universal, and many people were almost starved for want of fuel for fire.'

Oct.—There was no shearing this year till October, and much of the corn green when cut even then. Consequently, meal, though of bad quality, went to a pound sterling the boll. 'Yet there was not any time cows found fatter than in this harvest, and no scarcity either of cows or sheep for slaughter. Thus

the Lord, who casts down with one hand, lifts up with the other.'—*Law.*

1676.

The winter of 1675-6 being singularly mild, was followed by a favourable spring, and there consequently was an abundant harvest. The characteristic mutability of our climate was, however, shown immediately after. There was a drought in later autumn, and about the 18th of December the temperature fell to an extraordinary degree, 'the most aged never remembered the like. The birds fell down frae the air dead; the rats in numbers found dead; all liquors froze, even the strongest ale; and the distilled waters of apothecaries in warm rooms froze in whole, and the glasses broke.'—*Law.*

July 9.—'A star was seen at twelve hours of the day by a great company of people met for sermon on Gargunnock Hills, and that when the sun was shining.'—*Law.*

1676-7.

Lord Fountainhall notes a remarkable homicide as taking place this winter at the village of Abernethy in Perthshire. A butcher and another man, sitting in an ale-house together, quarrelled, and in a sudden fit of passion, the butcher inflicted a mortal stab upon his companion. Some gentlemen sitting in a neighbouring room heard the fray, and, rushing in, found the butcher with the bloody knife in his hand. Excited by the atrocity of the deed, they hurried off the murderer to the regality gallows, and instantly hanged him, though they had no sort of authority to act in that manner. They probably acted upon a popular notion, that a murderer taken *red-hand*, or fresh from the act, may be instantly done to death by the bystanders; which appears, however, to be a mistake.

1677.

Oct. 1.—The Egyptians or gipsies still roamed in a lawless manner over the country, without attracting much notice from the authorities, their conduct being now probably less troublesome than it had been in the reign of King James. Two bands of these people, the Faws and the Shaws, on their way from

Haddington fair to Harestanes, in Peeblesshire, where they expected to meet and fight two other tribes, the Baillies and Browns, fell out among themselves at Romanno about the spoil they had lately acquired, and immediately engaged in battle. 'Old Sandie Faw, a bold and proper fellow,' and his wife, then pregnant, were killed on the spot, while his brother George was very dangerously wounded. The Laird of Romanno apprehended 'Robert Shaw; Margaret Faw, his spouse; James, Patrick, Alexander, and Thomas Shaws, their sons; and Helen Shaw, their daughter; Robert and John Faws; John Faw, younger; Agnes and Isobel Shaws; Isobel Shaw, younger; and George Faw, and did commit them prisoners within the Tolbooth of Peebles;' whence they were speedily removed to Edinburgh to be tried. We soon after find the Council despatching a warrant to the Laird of Romanno and Mr Patrick Purdie to send to Edinburgh 'the *money*, *gold*, *gold rings*, and other things which were upon these persons;' likewise the weapons with which they had fought. An account of expenses sent by the magistrates of Peebles was disallowed, excepting only £15 Scots (£1, 6*s*. 8*d*. sterling) for the sustenance of the company while in jail.—*P. C. R.*

In February next year, 'Old Robin Shaw' and his three sons were hanged in the Grassmarket for this murder, and John Faw was executed in the following week for another murder. Two or three years after, the Laird of Romanno—a quaint physician named Pennecuik, who wrote verses—erected a pigeon-house on the scene of the conflict, with this inscription over the door:

> 'The field of gipsy blood which here you see,
> A shelter for the harmless dove shall be.'

Nov. 3.—A great fire took place in Glasgow, by which a large part of the Saltmarket on both sides was burnt. It commenced near the Cross, through the instrumentality of a smith's apprentice, who, being beaten by his master, set the workshop on fire at night, and fled. This conflagration was considered

an equal calamity to that of 1652. It threw between six and seven hundred families out of their homes, in a ruined and starving condition.—*P. C. R.*

1678.

Mar. 7.—Three enterprising persons at Haddington, including William Lamb, one of the bailies, and Mr James Lauder, sheriff-clerk, formed a project for a twice-a-week stage-coach 'to pass through the whole year betwixt Edinburgh and Haddington, which will be of great conveniency for travellers of all sorts who may have occasion to repair to Edinburgh from the eastward.' It was their resolution 'to employ a considerable stock of money for erecting the said stage-coaches, buying of horses, and all other furniture requisite, in expectation of some small profit by progress of time.' Wherefore they petitioned for the exclusive right to have stage-coaches upon that road. The right was granted for seven years.—*P. C. R.*

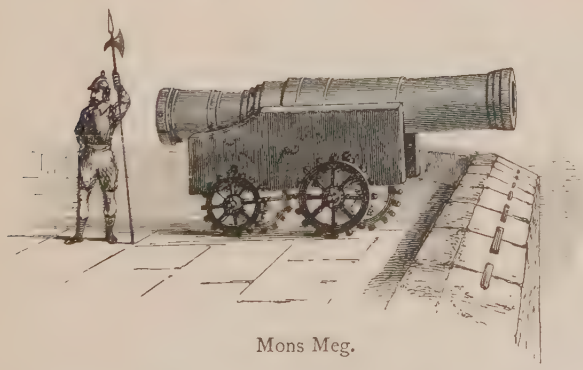
In the history of the introduction of the more refined arts into Scotland, there is no reason why one so ingenious as *cabinet-making* should not be included. We now first hear of it on the occasion of a petition from one James Turner, styling himself 'cabinet-maker and mirror-glass maker.' He having, as he says, 'with much labour, pains, and expenses, attained to the art of making cabinets, mirror-glasses, dressing-boxes, chests of drawers, comb-boxes, and the like curious work, of the finest olive and princes' wood, not formerly practised by any native of this country,' had been peaceably exercising his craft, when he was assailed by the deacon of the corporation of wrights as an unfreeman. He had first been forbidden to work, and then they took away his tools and materials. On his petition, however, he received the protection of the Council.—*P. C. R.*

Oct.—At this time, eighty persons were detained in prison in Edinburgh on account of matters of religion, waiting till they should be transported as slaves to Barbadoes.—*Foun. Dec.*

1680.

June 15.—Great efforts were made during this reign for the building of bridges and repairing of roads, but generally with little good effect. As an example of the actual condition of a road near the capital of the country at this time, we find the first four miles of that from Edinburgh to London—namely, from the Clockmill Bridge to Magdalen Bridge—are described as being in so ruinous a state, that passengers were in danger of their lives, 'either by their coaches overturning, their horse falling, their carts breaking, their loads casting, and horse stumbling, the poor people with the burdens on their backs sorely grieved and discouraged;' moreover, 'strangers do often exclaim thereat.' A toll of a halfpenny for a laden cart, and a sixth of a penny for a laden horse, was authorised in order to get this piece of road kept in repair.—*P. C. R.*

[*Nov. ?*]—The Duke of York paying a visit to the castle of Edinburgh, the huge cannon called Mons Meg was fired in



Mons Meg.

his honour. The charge, which was done by an English cannoneer, had probably been too large, for it caused the piece to burst. This, 'some foolishly called a bad omen. The Scots resented it extremely, thinking the Englishman might of malice have done it purposely, they having no cannon in all England so big as she.'—*Foun.*

Mons Meg, with a breach in her side, still adorns the ancient battlements of Edinburgh Castle, 'to the great admiration of people,' being upwards of thirteen feet long, and of twenty inches bore; formed of longitudinal bars of iron, hooped with rings fused into one mass. It is an example of a colossal kind of artillery which the sovereigns of Europe had a craze for making in the middle and latter half of the fifteenth century.

Dec. 10.—A great comet, which had been observed in Germany a month earlier, was first seen in Scotland this evening, 'the night being clear and frosty; between five and seven at night, it set in the west, and was seen in the south-east in the morning of the following days. [It] had a great [tail] blazing frae the root of it, was pointed as it came from the star, and then spread itself; was of a broad and large ascent up to the heavens . . . . the stream of it all the night over is seen.'

1681.

Jan. 11.—The house of Priestfield (now Prestonfield), near Edinburgh, was burnt this evening between seven and eight o'clock. Political circumstances gave importance to what would otherwise have been a trivial occurrence. Sir James Dick, the owner, was provost of Edinburgh, and a friend of the Duke of York. His having adopted energetic measures with some college youths concerned in a Christmas anti-papal demonstration, was supposed to have excited a spirit of retaliation in their companions; and hence a suspicion arose that the fire was designed and executed by them. The Privy Council were so far convinced of this being the case, that they shut up the College and banished the pupils fifteen miles from the city, unless they could give caution for their good behaviour. Sir James's house was rebuilt at the public expense.

Feb. 21.—A company of distracted people was this day brought into Edinburgh, under the guardianship of a troop of

dragoons. They were commonly known as the *Sweet Singers of Borrowstounness*, from their noted habit of frequent chanting of psalms. The religious exasperations of the times, the execution of two Bo'ness persons, named Stewart and Potter, on the preceding 1st of December, and perhaps in addition to these causes, the terrors diffused by the comet, had now produced in that little town an epidemic mania of a type only too well known. These people felt as if all was wrong in church and state, and professed to deny all kinds of institutions, even the names of the days of the week; nay, the commonest social obligations, as that of working for one's own bread. They protested against taxes, confessions, and covenants; disowned the king and his government; and called for vengeance on the murderers of the two late martyrs, Stewart and Potter, whose blood they carried on a handkerchief. They ran up and down the town in a furious manner, sometimes uttering prayers which consisted chiefly of curses invoked against individuals, more frequently singing psalms of lamentation (74th, 79th, 80th, 83d, and 137th) for the sins of the land. Such of the females as were married deserted their homes and husbands, and if the husband, in his endeavours to win his wife back to rationality, took hold of any part of her dress, she indignantly washed the place, as to remove an impurity. They followed a gigantic fellow, commonly called Muckle John Gibb, but who passed among them under the name of King Solomon, and at length, 'leaving their homes and soft warm beds and covered tables,' six-and-twenty of them went forth from their native town, notwithstanding the entreaties of weeping husbands, fathers, and children, calling on them to stay; 'some women taking the sucking children in their arms to desert places, to be free of all snares and sins, and communion with all others, and mourn for their own sins, the land's tyranny and defections, and there to be safe from the land's utter ruin and desolation by judgments; some of them going to the Pentland Hills, with a resolution to sit there to see the smoke and utter ruin of the sinful, bloody city of Edinburgh. . . . . Immediately after they came to these desert places, they kept a day of fasting and confessing of their

sins to one another; yea, some of them confessed sins which the world had not heard of, and so not called to confess them to men.'—*Pat. Walker.*

Even the Whig clergymen who had gone to the wilderness rather than own an uncovenanted king, were surprised at the more extreme feelings of the Sweet Singers. Walker tells how he was with the Rev. Mr Cargill at Darmead Muirs, when the Gibbites were 'lying in the Deer Slunk, in the midst of a great flow moss betwixt Clydesdale and Lothian, about a mile distant.' Gibb and another man came armed, and held a conference with Mr Cargill in a barn, but it led to no good. After resting a while, the chief of the Sweet Singers rose in haste and went to the muir all night. 'I well remember,' says Walker, 'it was a cold easterly wet fog.' Cargill was shocked by the state of mind he had found them in. They were afterwards all taken by a troop of dragoons at the Woolhill Craigs, betwixt Lothian and Tweeddale, a very desert place, and carried to Edinburgh, where the men were put into the Canongate Tolbooth, and the women into the Correction-house, where they were soundly scourged. After a little time, these poor people cooled down somewhat, and were one by one set at liberty. Walker says the most of them ultimately returned to their right mind, and that he had some edifying conversations with them.

June 2.—On a complaint from the master of the High School of Edinburgh to the Privy Council, two or three private teachers were imprisoned till they should give caution not to teach Latin without a license from the bishop, and even then to carry the boys no farther than 'the rudiments and vocables;' after which it was thought they might be of sufficient strength to go to the High School. What disposed the Council to support the complaint was that there were several private teachers now in Edinburgh who were 'outed ministers,' and accordingly were suspected of poisoning their pupils with disloyal principles.—*P. C. R.*

Sep. 1.—Leather stamped and gilded—believed to be

originally a Spanish fashion—was a favourite cover for the walls of rooms in the better class of houses in Scotland as well as in England. Some examples of the style still survive, and speak so strongly in its favour, that we might justly wonder at its going out of fashion. Hitherto such ornamental leather was introduced from abroad; but now Alexander Brand, merchant in Edinburgh, by a considerable outlay, had brought workmen and materials into the kingdom, and for the first time was about to set up a work, in which he expected to produce the article 'at as easy rates as it could be imported.' On a favourable report from 'the Committee of Trade,' the Privy Council gave Brand a privilege of exclusive manufacture for nineteen years.—*P. C. R.*

1682.

Feb. 11.—Three men were drowned this day by falling through the ice on the North Loch (which then occupied the place of what is now the Princes Street Gardens, Edinburgh). 'We have a proverb that the fox will not set his foot on the ice after Candlemas, especially in the heat of the sun, as this was at two o'clock; and at any time the fox is so sagacious as to lay his ear to the ice, to see if it be frozen to the bottom, or if he hear the murmuring and current of the water.'—*Foun.*

Apr.—A severe murrain commenced amongst the cattle, thought to be owing to the deficient herbage of the preceding year and the heavy rains of the intermediate season. The support of cattle during winter was at all times a trying difficulty in those days of no turnip-husbandry; but on an occasion like this it was scarcely possible. It was remarked that the farmers had to cut heather for their beasts to lie upon, and pull the old straw out of the coverings of their houses to feed them with. The murrain lasted till May, when some tenants in the Highlands lost as many as forty cows by it.

May 3.—A riot took place in the streets of Edinburgh, in consequence of an attempt to carry away, as soldiers to serve

the Prince of Orange, some young men who had been imprisoned for a trivial offence. As the lads were marched down the street under a guard, to be put on board a ship in Leith Roads, some women called out to them: 'Pressed or not pressed?' They answered: 'Pressed,' and so caused an excitement in the multitude. A woman who sat on the street selling pottery threw a few sherds at the guard; and some other people, finding a supply of missiles at a house which was building, followed her example. 'The king's forces,' says Fountainhall, 'were exceedingly assaulted and abused.' Under the order of their commander, Major Keith, they turned and fired upon the crowd, when, as usual, only innocent bystanders were injured. Seven men and two women were killed, and twenty-five wounded—a greater bloodshed than 'has been at once these sixty years done in the streets of Edinburgh.' Three of the most active individuals in this mob were seized and tried, but the assize would not find them guilty. The magistrates were severely blamed for their negligence and cowardice in this affair.

Aug. 17.—A comet began to appear in the north-west. 'The star was big, and the tail broad and long, at the appearance of four yards.' It continued visible for twenty days.—*Law.*

This was the celebrated *Halley's Comet*, so called in honour of the illustrious astronomer who first ascertained, by his calculations regarding it, the periodicity of comets. The same object had been observed by Kepler in 1607, and by Apian in 1531.

1683.

Apr. 5.—At the funeral of the Duke of Lauderdale at Haddington, while the usual dole of money was being distributed among the beggars, one, named Bell, stabbed another. 'He was apprehended, and several stolen things found on him; and he being made to touch the corpse, the wound bled afresh. The town of Haddington, who it seems have a sheriff's power, judged him presently, and hanged him over the bridge next day.'—*Foun.*

June 5.—At the circuit court at Stirling, a man was tried for reviling a parson 'in causing the piper play *The Deil stick the Minister.* Sundry pipers were there present as witnesses to declare it was the name of ane spring.'—*Foun.*

Nov.—At this time began a frost which lasted with great severity till March, 'with some storms and snow now and then.' 'The rivers at Dundee, Borrowstounness, and other places where the sea ebbs and flows, did freeze, which hath not been observed in the memory of man before; and thereby the cattle, especially the sheep, were reduced to great want . . . . the like not seen since the winter 1674.'—*Foun.*

This frost prevailed equally in England and Ireland, producing ice on the Thames below Gravesend. One remarkable circumstance arising from it is noted by a gentleman residing in London, that printing was hindered for a quarter of a year (by the hardening of the ink).

Dec. 26.—A dismally tragical incident occurred at the Hirsel, the seat of the Earl of Home, near Coldstream. The earl having been long detained in London, the countess, to beguile the time during the Christmas holidays, had a party of the neighbouring gentlemen invited to the house. Amongst these were Johnston of Hilton, Home of Ninewells, and the Hon. William Home, brother of the earl, and the sheriff of Berwickshire. Cards and dice being resorted to, and William having lost a considerable sum, a quarrel took place among the gentlemen, and Johnston, who was of a haughty and hot temper, gave William a slap in the face. The affair seemed to have been amicably composed, and all had gone to bed, when William Home rose and went to Johnston's chamber, to call him to account for the affront he conceived himself to have suffered. What passed in the way of conversation between the two is not known; but certain it is that Home stabbed Johnston in his bed, giving him nine severe wounds. Home of Ninewells, who slept near by, came to see what

caused the disturbance, and, as he entered the room, received a sword-thrust from the sheriff, who was now retiring, and who immediately fled into England upon Johnston's horse.

The unfortunate Hilton died in a few days. Ninewells recovered. The sheriff—of whom it was shudderingly remarked that this bloody fact happened exactly a twelvemonth after the execution of a Presbyterian rebel whom he had apprehended—was never caught. He was supposed to have entered some foreign service and died in battle. In advanced life, he is said to have made an experiment to ascertain if he could be allowed to spend the remainder of his days in his native country. A son of the slaughtered Johnston, while at a public assembly, 'was called out to speak with a person, who, it was said, brought him some particular news from abroad. The stranger met him at the head of the staircase, in a sort of lobby which led into the apartment where the company were dancing. He told young Johnston of Hilton that the man who had slain his father was on his death-bed, and had sent him to request his forgiveness before he died. Before granting his request, Johnston asked the stranger one or two questions; and observing that he faltered in his answers, he suddenly exclaimed: "You yourself are my father's murderer," and drew his sword to stab him. Home—for it was the homicide himself—threw himself over the balustrade of the staircase, and made his escape.'

1684.

Aug. 15.—Monro, the Edinburgh executioner, having beaten a beggar with undue severity, was deprived of his post, and moreover punished by being thrown into the Thieves' Hole. One hears with surprise of such an interference for humanity, amidst the atrocious cruelties to which political and religious exasperations were provoking the government. The vacant post was conferred on one George Ormiston, whom Fountainhall describes as 'a well-favoured discreet fellow.' If we are to believe Milne's Account of the Parish of Melrose, 1743, this man was a member, if not the representative, of the Ormistons of Westhouse, a family once of some account, possessing a tower on the Tweed, near Melrose, and having the custom of a bridge

across the river of that place; 'a memorandum to old families not to be puffed up with pride on account of their antiquity, for they know not what mean offices they or theirs may be obliged to stoop to.'

Dec.—Amongst those now suffering under the severities of government, there was no one more remarkable than Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, a Berwickshire gentleman of large fortune, of vigorous character, and great zeal as a Presbyterian and Whig. Polwarth, who was a man of forty-three years of age, had a wife and ten children, all young, residing at his house of Redbraes in the Merse. The first concealment of Sir Patrick was the family burial vault, under the east end of the parish church of Polwarth, a place where he had no fire, and only during the day light from an open slit in the wall. With the comfort of a bed and bed-clothes, he endured life in this singular Patmos for a whole winter month, supplied nightly with food by his daughter Grizzel, and having no sort of entertainment to beguile the tedium of the day but his own reflections, and the repetition of Buchanan's Psalms, which had long been charged on his memory. Each night, the young Grizzel came with a packet of provisions, and stayed with him as long as she could, so as to get home before day. Sir Patrick ultimately escaped to Holland, whence he returned with the Prince of Orange to take a high place in the councils of his country under a happier *régime*.

Reign of James the Seventh.

1685–1688.

JAMES, Duke of York, succeeded his brother in the three kingdoms (February 6, 1685) at a mature period of life, being fifty-three years of age. While reckoning as James II. in England and Ireland, he was the seventh of the name in Scotland. From the commencement of his reign, James took no pains to conceal his religion. Encouraged by the suppressed rebellions and the stillness which everywhere prevailed, he now thought he might safely commence a series of measures for restoring the Catholic faith in his dominions. When he found that the parliaments would not yield to him, he dissolved them, and, pretending that he had only asked their consent out of courtesy, assumed to himself the right of dispensing with the test.

The people of all orders turned their eyes to William, Prince of Orange, who had long taken a lead in opposing the arrogant continental policy of the French monarch, and whose court had for some years been a resort of British malcontents. Being invited by a great number of influential persons, of both sides in politics, including some of the clergy, he no longer hesitated to make preparations for an invasion. In October he set sail with an army of about sixteen thousand men, and on the 5th of November cast anchor in Tor Bay, in Devonshire, while the king's fleet lay windbound at Harwich. James retired to London before the advancing army, and was immediately deserted by all his principal counsellors, and even by his younger daughter, the Princess Anne. Feeling no support around him, he first despatched the queen and her infant to France, and then prepared to follow. In the disguise of a servant, he escaped down the river to Faversham, but being there seized by the populace as a popish refugee, he was brought back to London. It was found, however, that the government

could not be settled on a proper footing while he remained in the country; and he was therefore permitted once more to depart (December 23, 1688). He left the kingdom in the belief that the people could not do without him, and would call him back in triumph; but, in reality, nothing could have been more agreeable to them than his departure.

In Scotland, the Privy Council and Established Church were left by the departure of the king an isolated power in the midst of a people generally indisposed to give them support. There was an irrepressible popular eagerness to break out against such popish establishments as the king had set up—to attack and extrude the more obnoxious of the clergy, and to take some vengeance upon the more noted instruments of the late arbitrary power, as the Chancellor Perth and Graham of Claverhouse, whom James had lately created Viscount Dundee. The populace did lose no time in rising against the popishly furnished chapel-royal at Holyrood and a Catholic printing-office which had been placed in its neighbourhood; and after a struggle with the armed guards, both places were pillaged and ruined. In the other parts of Scotland, where prelacy had won some favour or been quietly endured, no particular movement took place. King William, however, finding that the Scottish bishops remained faithful to James, felt compelled to take the Presbyterians under his protection; consequently, the parliament proceeded to abolish prelacy in the church, and to establish Presbyterianism as it now exists.

1685.

Apr. 8.—The Duke of Queensberry, the Earl of Perth, and the Archbishop of St Andrews, arrived in Edinburgh from London, 'having been only eight days by the way.'—*Foun.*

This must have appeared rapid travelling in those days, for, twelve years later, the stage-coach from York to London spent the whole lawful days of a week upon its journey. This fact we learn from a passage in the diary of George Home of Kimmerghame, in Berwickshire, where the following statement is made: 'Thursday, October 21 [1697], Sir John Home of Blackadder set out post for London at two o'clock. It afterwards appears that he tired of posting [as slow], and [for expedition, doubtless] got into the stage-coach at York on

Monday the 25th, and was expected to reach London in it on Saturday the 30th.'

Apr. 16.—The equestrian statue of Charles II., which had cost £1000, though only formed of lead, was set up in the Parliament Close, Edinburgh. 'The vulgar people, who had never seen the like before, were much amazed at it. Some compared it to Nebuchadnezzar's image, which all fell down and worshipped, and others foolishly to the pale horse in the Revelations, and he that sat thereon was Death.'—*Foun.*

1686.

'This winter, there happened three fires at Edinburgh, and all on the Sabbath-day, to signify God's displeasure at the profanation of his day.' And yet 'there is no certain conclusion can be drawn from these providential accidents, for a few would draw just the contrary conclusion—that God was dissatisfied with our worshipping him on that day: so these providences may be variously interpreted.'—*Foun.*

1687.

May 1.—Being Sunday, a young woman of noted piety, Janet Fraser by name, the daughter of a weaver in the parish of Closeburn, Dumfriesshire, had gone out to the fields with a young female companion, and sat down to read the Bible not far from her father's house. Feeling thirsty, she went to the river-side (the Nith) to get a drink, leaving her Bible open at the place where she had been reading, which presented the verses of the 34th chapter of Isaiah, beginning—'My sword shall be bathed in heaven: behold, it shall come down upon Idumea, and upon the people of my curse, to judgment,' &c. On returning, she found a patch of something like blood covering this very text. In great surprise, she carried the book home, where a young man tasted the substance with his tongue, and found it of a saltless or insipid flavour. On the two succeeding Sundays, while the same girl was reading her Bible in the open air, similar blotches of matter, like blood, fell upon the leaves. She did not perceive it in the act of falling till it was about an inch from the book. 'It is not blood, for it is as tough as glue,

and will not be scraped off by a knife, as blood will; but it is so like blood, as none can discern any difference by the colour.'

1688.

Jan. 19.—Copious periwigs, with curls flowing down to the shoulders, were now in vogue, both at home and abroad. There being an active exportation of hair for the foreign peruke-makers, the article was found to have become dear, and the native artists began to complain. On their petition, the Privy Council forbade the exporting of hair.—*Foun.*

It may give some idea of circumstances attending this fashion, that at a date not long subsequent to the period under our attention, a woman living in a town in the south of Scotland was accustomed to dispose of her crop of *yellow hair* to a travelling merchant at fixed intervals, and always got a guinea for it.

The *girdle*—a round iron plate used for baking oaten cakes over a fire—a household article once universal among the middle and humbler classes in Scotland—was invented and first made at the little burgh of Culross, in Fife. In 1599, King James gave the Culrossians an exclusive privilege to make girdles, and this had been confirmed by a gift from Charles II. in 1666. Nevertheless, a neighbouring gentleman, Preston of Valleyfield, had kept girdle-makers (*craticularum fabros*) on his barony, for which he was now challenged at law by the burghers of Culross. He defended himself on various grounds (July 22); and the Lords, before decision, 'recommended to Drumcairn to take trial if the girdle-makers of Culross have any other trade or craft than that of making girdles, and at what prices they sell the same; and likewise to try if the men at Valleyfield do make sufficient girdles, and at what prices they make the same, and if they have any other trade than making of girdles, &c.' How the matter ended we do not learn.—*Foun. Dec.*

Reign of William and Mary.

1689–1694.

KING JAMES having fled in terror to France, his nephew and daughter, the Prince and Princess of Orange, were proclaimed king and queen as William and Mary; and the Episcopacy established at the Restoration, after a struggling and unhonoured existence of twenty-eight years, gave way to the more popular Presbyterian Church. There were new figures in the Privy Council, and none of them ecclesiastical. There was a wholly new set of senators on the bench of the Court of Session. It looked like the sudden shift of scenes in a pantomime, rather than a series of ordinary occurrences.

Almost as a necessary consequence of the Revolution, a war with France commenced in May 1689. Part of the operations took place in Ireland, where James II., assisted with troops by King Louis, and supported by the Catholic population, continued to exercise sovereignty till his defeat at the Boyne (July 1, 1690). During 1693, there were great alarms about invasion from France, and the forcible restoration of the deposed king; and some considerable severities were consequently practised on disaffected persons. By the death of the queen (December 28, 1694), William was left in the position of sole monarch of these realms.

1689.

Apr.—A little incident connected with the accession of King William and Queen Mary was reported to Wodrow as 'beyond all question.' When the magistrates of Jedburgh were met at their market-cross to proclaim the new sovereigns and drink their healths, a Jacobite chanced to pass by. A bailie asked him if he would drink the king's health; to which he answered

no, but he was willing to take a glass of thé wine. They handed him a little round glass full of wine; and he said: 'As surely as this glass will break, I drink confusion to him, and the restoration of our sovereign and his heir;' then threw away the glass, which alighted on the tolbooth stair, and rolled down unbroken. The bailie ran and picked up the glass, took them all to witness how it was quite whole, and then dropping some wax into the bottom, impressed his seal upon it, as an authentication of what he deemed little less than a miracle.

Mr William Veitch happening to relate this incident in Edinburgh, it came to the ears of the king and queen's commissioner, the Earl of Crawford, who immediately took measures for obtaining the glass from Jedburgh, and 'sent it up with ane attested account to King William.'

June 23.—This morning, being Sunday, the royal orders for the appointment of fifteen new men to be Lords of Session reached Edinburgh, all of them being, of course, persons notedly well affected to the new order of things. Considering the veneration professed for the day by zealous Presbyterians in Scotland, and how high stood the character of the Earl of Crawford for a religious life, one is rather surprised to find one of the new judges (Crossrig) bluntly telling that that earl 'sent for me in the morning and intimated to me that I was named for one of them.' He adds a curious fact. 'It seems the business had got wind, and was talked some days before, for Mr James Nasmyth, advocate, who was then concerned for the Faculty's Library, spoke to me to pay the five hundred merks I had given bond for when I entered advocate; which I paid. It may be he thought it would not be so decent to crave me after I was preferred to the bench.'

July 10.—A poor young woman belonging to a northern county, wandering southwards in search of a truant lover, like a heroine of one of the old ballads, found herself reduced to the last extremity of distress when a few miles south of Peebles.

Bewildered and desperate, she threw her babe into the Haystoun Burn, and began to wander back towards her own country. A couple of the inhabitants of Peebles, fishing in the burn, soon found the body of the infant, and, a search being made, the wretched mother was discovered at a place called Jedderfield, brought into town, and put in confinement, as a suspected murderess. The magistrates of the burgh applied to the sheriff, John Balfour of Kailzie, to have the supposed culprit taken off their hands and tried; but he refused to interfere, owing to 'the present surcease of justice' in the country. Consequently, the magistrates were 'necessitate to cause persons constantly guard the murderer, the prison not being strong enough to secure her.' On their petition, the Privy Council allowed the Peebles authorities to send Margaret Craig with a guard to Edinburgh, and ordained her to be received into the Tolbooth of Leith, till she be processed for the murder.—*P. C. R.*

This miserable young woman must have lain in prison three years, for she was tried by the Court of Justiciary in June 1692, and condemned to be hanged.—*Justiciary Record.*

July 26.—There is something interesting in the early difficulties of so valuable an institution as the Post-office. John Graham had been appointed postmaster-general for Scotland in 1674, with a salary of a thousand pounds Scots (£83, 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling), and had set about his duty with great spirit. He had travelled to many towns for the purpose of establishing local offices, thus incurring expenses far beyond what his salary could repay. He had been obliged on this account to encroach on money belonging to his wife, also to incur some considerable debts; nor had he ever been able to obtain any relief, or even the full payment of his salary from the late state-officers. He was now dead, and his widow came before the Privy Council with a petition setting forth how she had been left penniless by her husband through his liberality towards a public object. It was ordained that Mrs Graham should get payment of all debts due by provincial offices to her

husband, and have the income of the general office till Martinmas next.

Oct. 10.—It was now acknowledged of the glass-work at Leith that it was carried on successfully in making green bottles and 'chemistry and apothecary glasses.' It produced its wares 'in greater quantity in four months than was ever vended in the kingdom in a year, and at as low rates as any corresponding articles from London or Newcastle.' The Privy Council therefore gave it the privileges of a manufactory, and forbade introduction of foreign bottles, only providing that the Leith work should not charge more than half-a-crown a dozen.

1690.

Aug. 16.—William Bridge, an Englishman, had come to Scotland about ten years ago, at the invitation of a coppersmith and a founder in Edinburgh, to 'give them his insight in the airt of casting in brass;' and now they had imparted their knowledge to James Miller, brasier in the Canongate. Bridge petitioned the Privy Council for some charity, 'seeing he left his own kingdom for doing good to this kingdom and the good town of Edinburgh.' The Council took that way of proving their benevolence on which Mr Sydney Smith once laid so much stress—'they recommend to the magistrates of Edinburgh to give the petitioner such charity as he deserves.'

1692.

Feb. 13.—King William felt impatient at the unsubmissiveness of the Jacobite clans, chiefly Macdonalds of Glengarry, Keppoch, and Glencoe, the Grants of Glenmoriston, and the Camerons of Locheil, because it caused troops to be kept in Scotland, which he much wanted for his army in Flanders. His Scottish ministers, and particularly Sir John Dalrymple, Master of Stair, the Secretary of State, carried towards those clans feelings of constantly growing irritation, as latterly the principal obstacle to a settlement of the country under the new system of things. At length, in August 1691, the king issued an indemnity, promising pardon to all that had been in arms against him

before the 1st of June last, provided they should come in any time before the 1st of January next year, and swear and sign the oath of allegiance.

The letters of Sir John Dalrymple from the court at London during the remainder of the year show that he grudged these terms to the Highland Jacobites, and would have been happy to find that a refusal of them justified harsher measures. It was all the better that the time of grace expired in the depth of winter, for 'that,' said he (letter to Colonel Hamilton, December 3, 1691), 'is the proper season to maul them, in the cold long nights.' In the midst of a letter on the subject, dated the 11th January (addressed to Sir Thomas Livingstone, commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland), he says: 'Just now my Lord Argyll tells me that Glencoe hath not taken the oaths; at which *I rejoice*—it's a great work of charity to be exact in *rooting out that damnable sect*, the worst in all the Highlands.' Particular instructions subscribed by the king followed on the 16th, permitting terms to be offered to Glengarry, whose house was strong enough to give trouble, but adding: '*If M'Ian of Glencoe and that tribe can be well separated from the rest, it will be a proper vindication of the public justice to extirpate that sect of thieves.*' On the same day, Dalrymple himself wrote to Colonel Hill, governor of Inverlochy: 'I shall entreat you that, for a just vengeance and public example, the thieving tribe of Glencoe be *rooted out to purpose.* The Earls of Argyll and Breadalbane have promised they shall have no retreat in their bounds.' He felt, however, that it must be 'quietly done;' otherwise they would make shift both for their cattle and themselves. There can be no doubt what he meant; merely to *harry* the people, would make them worse thieves than before—they must be, he elsewhere says, '*rooted out and cut off.*'

In reality, the old chief of the Glencoe Macdonalds had sped to Inverlochy or Fort-William before the end of the year, and offered his oath to the governor there, but, to his dismay, found he had come to the wrong officer. It was necessary he should go to Inveraray, many miles distant, and there give in his

submission to the sheriff. In great anxiety, the old man toiled his way through the wintry wild to Inveraray. He had to pass within a mile of his own house, yet stopped not to enter it. After all his exertions, the sheriff being absent for two days after his arrival, it was not till the 6th of January that his oath was taken and registered. The register duly went thereafter to the Privy Council at Edinburgh; but the name of Macdonald of Glencoe was not found in it: it was afterwards discovered to have been by special pains obliterated, though still traceable.

Here, then, was that 'sect of thieves' *formally* liable to the vengeance which the secretary of state meditated against them. The commander, Livingstone, on the 23d January, wrote to Colonel Hamilton of Inverlochy garrison to proceed with his work against the Glencoe men. A detachment of the Earl of Argyll's regiment—Campbells, hereditary enemies of the Macdonalds of Glencoe—under the command of Campbell of Glenlyon, proceeded to the valley, affecting nothing but friendly intentions, and were hospitably received. Glenlyon himself, as uncle to the wife of one of the chief's sons, was hailed as a friend. Each morning, he called at the humble dwelling of the chief and took his morning draught of usquebaugh. On the evening of the 12th of February, he played at cards with the chief's family. The final orders for the onslaught, written on the 12th at Ballachulish by Major Robert Duncanson (a Campbell also), were now in Glenlyon's hands. They bore—'You are to put all to the sword under seventy. You are to have a special care that the old fox and his son do on no account escape your hands. You are to secure all avenues, that none escape; this you are to put in execution at five o'clock precisely, and by that time, or very shortly after it, I 'll strive to be at you with a stronger party. If I do not come to you at five, you are not to tarry for me, but to fall on.'

Glenlyon was but too faithful to his instructions. His soldiers had their orders the night before. John Macdonald, the chief's eldest son, observing an unusual bustle among the soldiers, took an alarm, and inquired what was meant. Glenlyon soothed his fears with a story about a movement against

Glengarry, and the lad went to bed. Meanwhile, efforts were making to plant guards at all the outlets of that alpine glen; but the deep snow on the ground prevented the duty from being fully accomplished. At five, Lieutenant Lindsay came with his men to the house of the chief, who, hearing of his arrival, got out of bed to receive him. He was shot dead as he was dressing himself. Two of his people in the house shared his fate, and his wife, shamefully treated by the soldiers, died next day. At another hamlet called Auchnaion, the tacksman and his family received a volley of shot as they were sitting by their fireside, and all but one were laid dead or dying on the floor. The survivor entreated to be killed in the open air, and there succeeded in making his escape. There were similar scenes at all the other inhabited places in the glen, and before daylight, thirty-eight persons had been murdered. The rest of the people, including the chief's eldest son, fled to the mountains, where many of them are believed to have perished. When Colonel Hamilton came at breakfast-time, he found one old man alive mourning over the bodies of the dead; and this person, though he might have been even formally exempted as above seventy, was slain on the spot. The only remaining duty of the soldiers was to burn the houses and harry the country. This was relentlessly done, two hundred horses, nine hundred cattle, and many sheep and goats, being driven away.

A letter of Dalrymple, dated from London the 5th March, makes us aware that the Massacre of Glencoe was already making a sensation there. It was said that the people had been murdered in their beds, after the chief had made the required submission. The secretary professed to have known nothing of the last fact, but he was far from regretting the bloodshed. 'All I regret is that any of the sect got away.' When the particulars became fully known—when it was ascertained that the Campbells had gone into the glen as friends, and fallen upon the people when they were in a defenceless state and when all suspicion was lulled asleep—the transaction assumed the character which it has ever since borne in the public estimation, as one of the foulest in modern history.

Aug. 13.—The boy carrying the post-bag on its last stage from England was robbed by 'a person mounted on horseback with a sword about him, and another person on foot with a pistol in his hand, upon the highway from Haddington to Edinburgh, near that place thereof called Jock's Lodge [a mile from town], about ten hours of the night.' The robbers took 'the packet or common mail with the horse whereon the boy rode.' The Privy Council issued a proclamation, offering a reward of a hundred pounds for the apprehension of the offenders, with a free pardon to any one of them who should inform upon the rest.

Dec. 1.—The Earl of Moray, being pursued at law for a tradesman's account, which was referred to his oath, craved the Court of Session to appoint a commission to take his oath at Dunnibrissle, on the ground that, if he were obliged to come to Edinburgh for the purpose, he should incur as much expense as the whole amount of the alleged debt. As Dunnibrissle is visible from Edinburgh across the Firth of Forth, this must be looked upon as an eccentrically economical movement on his lordship's part. The court granted the commission, but ordained his lordship to pay any expense which might be incurred by the debtor, or his representative, in travelling to Dunnibrissle to be present at the oath-taking.—*Foun. Dec.*

1693.

Feb. 2.—Though Scotland had long enjoyed the services of four universities, the teaching of any of the natural sciences was not merely unknown in the country, but probably undreamed of, till the reign of Charles II. The first faint gleam of scientific teaching presents itself about 1676, when, under the fostering care of Dr (afterwards Sir) Robert Sibbald, a botanic garden was established near the Trinity College Church, as a means of helping the medical men of Edinburgh to a better knowledge of the pharmacopœia. It was put under the care of James Sutherland, who had been a common gardener, but whose natural talents had raised him to a fitness for this remark-

able position. In his little garden in the valley on the north side of the city, he taught the science of herbs to students of medicine for small fees, receiving no other encouragement besides a salary from the city of twenty pounds, which did not suffice to pay rent and servants' wages, not to speak of the cost of new plants. At the time of the siege of Edinburgh Castle in the spring of 1689, it had been thought necessary, for strategic reasons, to drain the North Loch, and, as the water ran through the Botanic Garden, it came to pass that the place was for some days under an inundation, and when left dry, proved to be covered with mud and rubbish, so that the delicate and costly plants which Sutherland had collected were nearly all destroyed. It had cost him and his assistants the work of a whole season to get the ground cleared, and he had incurred large charges in replacing the plants.

At this date, the Privy Council, on Sutherland's petition, took into consideration his losses, his inadequate salary, and the good service he was rendering, 'whereby not only the young physicians, apothecaries, and chirurgeons, but also the nobility and gentry, are taught the knowledge of the herbs, and also a multitude of plants, shrubs, and trees are cultivated which were never known in this nation before, and more numerous than in any other garden in Britain, as weel for the honour of the place as for the advantage of the people.' They therefore declared that they will in future allow Mr Sutherland fifty pounds a year out of fines falling to them, one half for expenses of the garden, and the other half by way of addition to his salary.

Apr. 11.—A great number of the smaller lairds of Fife were Jacobite; among the rest, David Boswell of Balmouto. On the other hand, the Earl of Leven, one of the nobility of the county, stood high in office under the Revolution government. Besides a general quarrel with the earl on this ground, Balmouto had probably some private cause of offence to exasperate him; but on this point we only have conjecture.

At the date noted, there was a horse-race at the county town, Cupar; and both gentlemen attended. It is alleged that

Balmouto first waited near a house in the town where the earl was, in expectation of his coming forth, but afterwards went away to the race-ground. There, as the earl was quietly riding about, Balmouto came up to him behind his back, and struck him twice or thrice over the head and shoulders with a baton. On his lordship turning to defend himself, the assailant struck the horse on the face and caused it to rear dangerously. Balmouto then fired a pistol at the earl without effect, and was immediately seized by the bystanders, and prevented from doing further mischief.

In a debate before the Privy Council on this case, after hearing representations from both parties, it was held that the earl's complaint was proved, while an attempt of Balmouto to make out a counter-charge of assault against Lord Leven was declared to have failed. Balmouto was obliged to beg the earl's pardon on his knees, and, on pain of imprisonment, give caution for future good-behaviour.

On the ensuing 13th of March 1694, Balmouto is found representing to the Council that 'his misfortune has been so great, that his friends are unwilling to interest themselves in his liberation, whereby his family is in hazard to be ruined and himself to die in prison;' and he craved that they would accept his personal obligation and allow him his liberty. The Earl of Leven having concurred in desiring this, the petition was complied with.—*P. C. R.*

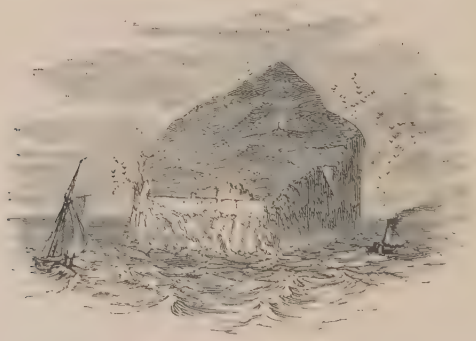
June 14.—To promote the making of linen in Scotland, an act was passed in 1686 ordaining that 'no corps of any persons whatsoever be buried in any shirt, sheet, or anything else except in plain linen,' the relatives of deceased persons being obliged, under heavy penalties, to come to their parish minister within eight days of the burial and declare on oath that the rule had been complied with. Another act was now passed, ordaining that, for the same end, no lint should be exported from the kingdom; that lint imported should be duty free; and making sundry arrangements for a uniformity in the breadth of the cloth produced. There was likewise still another act conferring

particular privileges on two companies which carried on the linen manufacture in Paul's Work, Edinburgh, and in the Citadel of Leith, as an encouragement which was required for their success.

1694.

Apr. 20.—Till this day, it could not be said that Great Britain had wholly submitted to William and Mary. For nearly three years past, one small part of it—situated within one-and-twenty miles of the capital of Scotland—had held out for King James; and it only now yielded upon good terms for the holders. This was the more remarkable, as the place was no ancestral castle, resting on the resources of a great lord, but, in reality, one of the state fortresses, which fortune had thrown into the hands of a few bold spirits, having no sort of authority to take or retain possession of it.

The place in question was that singular natural curiosity, the islet of the Bass, situated a couple of miles off the coast of East Lothian, in the mouth of the Firth of Forth. As well known, while rising a column of pure trap straight out of the



The Bass.

sea, it shelves down on one side to a low cliff, where there is a chain of fortifications, with a difficult landing-place underneath. The late government had employed this fortalice as a state-prison, chiefly for troublesome west-country clergymen. After

the Revolution, the new government sent some of Dundee's officers to undergo its restraints. On the 15th of June 1691, while most of the little garrison were employed outside in landing coal, four of these prisoners, named Middleton, Halyburton, Roy, and Dunbar, closed the gates and took possession of the fortress. Next evening, they were joined by Crawford, younger of Ardmillan, with his servant and two Irish seamen. The Privy Council at Edinburgh was greatly enraged, but it had no means of reducing the place. It could only put a guard on the shore to prevent intercourse with the land, and make a couple of armed boats cruise about to intercept marine communications.

Months elapsed. The Jacobite garrison led a merry life amidst the clouds of sea-birds which were their only associates. There was no lack of stirring adventure. Young Ardmillan went off in a boat and brought in a load of provisions. Others contrived to join them, till they were sixteen men in all. A Dutch galliot came under their guns one day, ignorant of what had happened, and was sacked of all it contained. Predatory boat-parties, which went out by night, laid all the coast between the Tyne and the Tay under contribution. The government, for a time, seemed powerless. The island was too far from the land to be thence bombarded; ships' cannon could not mark at its cliff-built towers. The garrison, having plenty of ammunition, were on their own part formidable. After an ineffectual beleaguerment of upwards of two years, a small war-vessel called the *Lion*, with a dogger of six guns, and a large boat from Kirkcaldy, came to cruise off the island; but by this time their friends in France were interested in their welfare, and in August 1693, a frigate of twelve guns came up to the Bass and anchored under its cannon. At sight of it, the government vessels disappeared. Large succours were thus given. Some months after, a Dunkirk privateer came in like manner, but was attacked by the *Lion*, and beaten.

The only very painful occurrence for the besieged was the seizure of a person named Trotter, who had supplied them with provisions. To frighten them, his execution was ordered to

take place at Castleton, in sight of the isle. While the preparations were making, a shot from the Bass broke up the assemblage, but did not prevent the sacrifice being made at another place.

It was not till the spring of this year that the measures of the government for cutting off supplies from the Bass began sensibly to tell upon the besieged. When reduced to a point near starvation, and treating with the enemy, Middleton and his companions contrived still to appear well off and full of good spirits. When the commissioners came to the rock, the governor gave them what appeared a hearty lunch of French wine and fine biscuit, telling them to eat and drink freely, as there was no scarcity of provisions. On their departure, he had the walls bristling with old muskets, with hats and coats, as if there had been a large garrison. The consequence was that the cavaliers of the Bass finally came off with life, liberty, and property—even with payment of their arrears of aliment as prisoners—and, it is needless to say, the unmixed admiration and gratitude of the friends of King James.

July 10.—We get an idea of what was at this time considered a fair price for land in proportion to rent in Scotland, from a case now before the Court of Session. Sir John Clerk of Penicuik and Archibald Primrose of Dalmeny had bought the baronies of Nicolson and Lasswade at a roup or auction, the one estate at *twenty-four*, the other at *twenty-two years' purchase*, which they afterwards represented as 'a dear rate.' There being a doubt as to the party who should receive the price, the purchasers would have to pay six per cent. on the purchase money, by way of interest, until that point was settled, while only realising about four per cent. for their outlay: hence they applied to the court for leave to consign the money—which was refused.

Reign of William the Third.

1695–1702.

DURING this period, the affairs of Scotland were in a marked degree subordinate to those of England. The king, absorbed in continental wars and continental politics, paid little attention to his northern kingdom; he left it chiefly to the care of its state-officers, using as a medium of his own influence, William Carstares, a Presbyterian minister of extraordinary worth, sincerity, and prudence, who had gained his entire esteem and confidence, and who usually attended him wherever he was. A parliament which sat in May 1695, was chiefly occupied with the investigation of the Glencoe massacre, and with measures connected with the rising commercial enterprise of the country, including the formation of a native bank, and that of a company for trading with Africa and the Indies. The latter of these speculations was worked out in an expedition to Darien, and an attempted settlement there, which, through English mercantile jealousy, and the king's indifference to Scottish interests, ended so unfortunately as greatly to incense the Scottish nation, and increase the party disaffected to the Revolution government.

William died on the 8th March 1702. His vigorous talents, his courage, his essential mildness and tolerance, abated as they were by an unpopular coldness of manners, are amply recognised in English history; among the Scots, while Presbyterians thank him for the establishment of their church, there is little feeling regarding the Dutch king, besides a strong resentment of his concern in the affairs of Glencoe and Darien.

1695.

Mar. 19.—The degree of respect felt by the authorities of this age for the rights of the individual is shown very strikingly

in a custom which was now and for a considerable time after largely practised, of compromising with degraded and imputedly criminal persons for banishment to the American plantations. For example, at this date, thirty-two women of evil fame, residing in Edinburgh, were brought before the magistrates as a moral nuisance. We do not know what could have been done to them beyond whipping and hard labour; yet they were fain to agree that, instead of any other punishment, they should be banished to America, and arrangements for that purpose were immediately made.

May.—The Estates at this date advert to the fact that sundry lands lying along the sea-coast had been ruined, in consequence of their being overwhelmed with sand driven from adjacent sand-hills, 'the which has been mainly occasioned by the pulling up by the roots of bent, juniper, and broom bushes, which did loose and break the surface and scroof of the sand-hills.' In particular, 'the barony of Cowbin and house and yards thereof, lying in the sheriffdom of Elgin, is quite ruined and overspread with sand,' brought upon it by the aforesaid cause. Penalties were accordingly decreed for such as should hereafter pull up bent or juniper bushes on the coast sand-hills.

A remarkable geological phenomenon, resulting in the ruin of a family of Morayland gentry, is here in question. We learn from an act of parliament, passed two months later, that, within the preceding twenty years, two-thirds of the estate of Culbin had been overwhelmed with blown sand, so that no trace of the manor-house, yards, orchards, or mains thereof, was now to be seen, though formerly 'as considerable as many in the country of Moray.' Alexander Kinnaird of Culbin now represented to the parliament that full cess was still charged for his lands, being nearly as much as the remainder of them produced to him in rent; and he petitioned that his unfortunate estate might, in consideration of his extraordinary misfortune, be altogether exempted from cess. Three years after this date, we hear of the remaining *fourth* part of Culbin as sold for

the benefit of the creditors of the proprietor, and himself suing to parliament for a personal protection. In time, the entire ruin of the good old barony was completed. Hugh Miller says: 'I have wandered for hours amid the sand-wastes of this ruined barony, and seen only a few stunted bushes of broom, and a few scattered tufts of withered bent, occupying, amid utter barrenness, the place of what, in the middle of the seventeenth century, had been the richest fields of the rich province of Moray; and, where the winds had hollowed out the sand, I have detected, uncovered for a few yards-breadth, portions of the buried furrows, sorely dried into the consistence of sun-burnt brick, but largely charged with the seeds of the common corn-field weeds of the country, that, as ascertained by experiment by the late Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, still retain their vitality. It is said that an antique dove-cot, in front of the huge sand-wreath which enveloped the manor-house, continued to present the top of its peaked roof over the sand, as a foundered vessel sometimes exhibits its vane over the waves, until the year 1760. The traditions of the district testify that, for many years after the orchard had been enveloped, the topmost branches of the fruit-trees, barely seen over the surface, continued each spring languidly to throw out bud and blossom; and it is a curious circumstance, that in the neighbouring churchyard of Dike there is a sepulchral monument of the Culbin family, which, though it does not date beyond the reign of James VI., was erected by a lord and lady of the lost barony, at a time when they seem to have had no suspicion of the utter ruin which was coming on their house. The quaint inscription runs as follows:

VALTER : KINNAIRD : ELIZABETH : INNES : 1613 :
THE : BVILDARS : OF : THIS : BED : OF : STANE :
AR : LAIRD : AND : LADIE : OF : COVBINE :
QVHILK : TVA : AND : THARS : QVHANE : BRAITHE IS : GANE :
PLEIS : GOD : VIL : SLEIP : THIS : BED : VITHIN :'

June.—As political troubles subsided in Scotland, the spirit of mercantile enterprise rose and gained strength. Amongst

a few persons favouring this spirit, was one of notable character and history—WILLIAM PATERSON—a native of Scotland, but now practising merchandise in London—a most active genius, well acquainted with distant countries, not visionary, animated, on the contrary, by sound commercial principles, yet living, unfortunately for himself, before the time when there was either intelligence or means for the successful carrying out of great mercantile adventures. Paterson, in the early part of this year, had gained for himself an historical fame by projecting and helping to establish the Bank of England. For his native country he at the same time projected what he hoped would prove a second East India Company.

At the date noted, an act passed the Scottish parliament, forming certain persons named into an incorporation, under the name of *The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies*, who should be enabled to 'plant colonies, and build cities and forts, in any countries in Asia, Africa, or America not possest by any European sovereign,' 'by consent of the natives and inhabitants thereof,' and to take all proper measures for their own protection and the advancement of their special objects, only acknowledging the supremacy of the king by the annual payment of a hogshead of tobacco. It was scrupulously arranged, however, that at least one half of the stock of this Company should be subscribed for by Scotsmen residing either at home or abroad.

Although the war pressed sorely on the resources of England, Paterson calculated securely that there was enough of spare capital and enterprise in London to cause the new Scottish trading scheme to be taken up readily there. When the books for subscription were opened in October, the whole £300,000 offered to the English merchants was at once appropriated. By this time, the fears of the East India Company and of the English mercantile class generally had been roused; it was believed that the Scottish adventurers would compete with them destructively in every place where they now enjoyed a lucrative trade. The parliament took up the cry,

and voted that the noblemen and gentlemen named in the Scottish act were guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour. Irritated rather than terrified by this denunciation, these gentlemen calmly proceeded with their business in Scotland. The subscription books being opened on the 26th of February 1696, the taking up of the stock became something like a national movement. It scarcely appeared that the country was a poor one. Noblemen, country gentlemen, merchants, professional men, corporations of every kind, flocked to put down their

African Company's House, Edinburgh.

names for various sums according to their ability, till not merely the £300,000 devoted to Scotsmen was engaged for, but some additional capital besides. In a list before me, with the sums added up, I find the total is £336,390 sterling; but, of course, the advance of this large sum was contemplated as to be spread over a considerable space of time, the first instalment of 25 per cent. being alone payable within 1696.

Meanwhile the furious denunciations of the English parliament

proved a thorough discouragement to the project in London, and nearly the whole of the stockholders there silently withdrew from it; under the same influence, the merchants of Hamburg were induced to withdraw their support and co-operation, leaving Scotland to work out her own plans by herself.

She proceeded to do so with a courage much to be admired. A handsome house (which has now disappeared) was erected for the conducting of the Company's business; schemes for trade with Greenland, with Archangel, with the Gold Coast, were considered; the qualities of goods, possible improvements of machinery, the extent of the production of foreign wares, were all the subject of careful inquiry.

The design of Paterson presents such indications of a great, an original, and a liberal mind, as to make the obscurity which rests on his history much to be regretted. He himself embarked the few thousand pounds which he possessed in the undertaking, and his whole conduct throughout its history exhibits him not merely as a man of sound judgment and reflection, but one superior to all sordid considerations.

July 7.—The Bank of England, projected by the same William Paterson, amidst and by favour of the difficulties of the public exchequer during King William's expensive continental wars, may be said to have commenced its actual banking operations on the first day of this year. Considerable attention was drawn to the subject in London, and the establishment of a similar public bank in both Ireland and Scotland became matter of speculation. There was in London an almost retired merchant named John Holland, who thought hereafter of spending his time chiefly in rural retirement. To him came one day a friend, a native of Scotland, who was inspired with a strong desire to see a bank established in his country. He desired that Mr Holland would think of it. 'Why,' said the latter, 'I have nearly withdrawn from all such projects, and think only of how I may spend the remainder of my days in

peace.' 'Think of it,' said his Scottish friend; 'and if you will enter into the scheme, I can assure you of having an act of our parliament for it on your own conditions.'

Mr Holland accordingly drew out a sketch of a plan for a bank in Scotland, which his friend, in a very few days thereafter, had transfused into a parliamentary bill of the Scottish form. He had also spoken, he said, to most of his countrymen of any mercantile importance in London to engage their favour for the scheme. Mr Holland was readily induced to lend his aid in further operations, and the project appears to have quickly come to a bearing, for, little more than six months from the opening of the Bank of England, the act for the Bank of Scotland had passed the native parliament.

The Bank of Scotland set up in a floor in the Parliament Close, with a moderate band of officials, and *ten thousand pounds sterling of paid-up capital.* It had scarcely started, when the African Company added a banking business to its other concerns, meaning thus to overpower the project of Mr Holland. That gentleman was in Edinburgh at the time. He saw that the African Company was in the highest vogue with the public, while few took any notice of his modest establishment. As governor, he prudently counselled that they should make no attempt to enforce the exclusive privilege which the statute had conferred upon them for twenty-one years, but to limit themselves to standing on their guard against 'that mighty Company,' lest it should try to injure or 'affront' them by a run upon their cash. For this reason, by his advice, twenty thousand pounds of the capital was called up, in addition to the ten thousand lodged at first. The smallness of these sums is amusing to men who know what banking in Scotland now is; yet it appears that from the first the Bank of Scotland had five, ten, twenty, fifty, and hundred pound notes. After a little while, it was found that banking did not succeed with the African Company, chiefly because they lent money in too large sums to their own shareholders, and the Bank of Scotland was then allowed to go on without any competition. The capital lately called up was

then paid back, leaving the original sum of £10,000 alone in the hands of the bank.

1696.

Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg, the notable 'persecutor,' who had been not a little persecuted himself after the Revolution as a person dangerous to the new government, was now in trouble on a different score. He was accused of the crimes of 'clipping of good money and coining of false money, and vending the samen when clipped and coined,' inferring the forfeiture of life, land, and goods. The prosecution broke down before any assize had been called.

'Lagg'—who had drowned religious women at stakes on the sands of Wigtown—had the fortune to survive to a comparatively civilised age. He died in very advanced life, at Dumfries, about the close of 1733.

Apr.—Two young men, Matthew M'Kail, son of an advocate of the same name, and Mr William Trent, writer, hitherto intimate friends, quarrelled about a trifling matter, and resolved to fight a duel. Accompanied by John Veitch, son of John Veitch, 'presentee of the signator,' and William Drummond, son of Logie Drummond, youths scarcely out of their minority, they went two days after—a Sunday having intervened—to the park of Holyrood Palace, and there fought—it does not appear with what weapons—but both were slain on the spot; after which the seconds absconded.—*P. C. R.*

Dec. 23.—It was while the public mind was excited by the complicated evils of famine and threatened invasion by France, that an importation of atheistical books was found to have been made into Edinburgh, and several young men were denounced to the authorities as having become infected with heterodox opinions. One delinquent—John Fraser—had, upon timely confession and penitence, been lightly dealt with; but there was another youthful offender, who, meeting accusation in a different frame of mind, at least at first, was to have a different fate.

Thomas Aikenhead, a youth of eighteen, 'son to the deceest James Aikenhead, chirurgeon in Edinburgh,' was now tried by the High Court of Justiciary for breach of the 21st act of the first parliament of Charles II., 'against the crime of blasphemy,' which act had been ratified by the 11th act of the fifth session of the parliament of the present reign. It was alleged in the indictment that the young man had, for a twelvemonth past, been accustomed to speak of theology as 'a rhapsody of feigned and ill-invented nonsense,' calling the Old Testament *Ezra's Fables*, and the New *the history of the Impostor Christ*, further 'cursing Moses, Ezra, and Jesus, and all men of that sort.' 'Likeas,' pursued this document, 'you reject the mystery of the blessed Trinity, and say it is not worth any man's refutation, and you also scoff at the mystery of the incarnation of Jesus Christ . . . . as to the doctrine of redemption by Jesus, you say it is a proud and presumptuous device . . . . you also deny spirits . . . . and you have maintained that God, the world, and nature are but one thing, and that the world was from eternity. . . . . You have said that you hoped to see Christianity greatly weakened, and that you are confident it will in a short time be utterly extirpat.'

Aikenhead, though impenitent at first, no sooner received this indictment in prison, than he endeavoured to stop proceedings by addressing to the Lords of Justiciary 'a petition and retraction,' in which he professed the utmost abhorrence of the expressions attributed to him, saying he trembled even to repeat them to himself, and further avowing his firm faith in the gospel, in the immortality of the soul, in the doctrine of the Trinity, and in the divine authority of Scripture.

The jury nevertheless unanimously found it proven 'that the panel, Thomas Aikenhead, has railed against the first person, and also cursed and railed our blessed Lord, the second person, of the holy Trinity.' They further found 'the other crimes libelled proven—namely, the denying the incarnation of our Saviour, the holy Trinity, and scoffing at the Holy Scriptures.' Wherefore the judges 'decern and adjudge the said Thomas Aikenhead to be taken to the Gallowlee, betwixt Leith and

Edinburgh, upon Friday the eighth day of January next to come, and there to be hanged on a gibbet till he be dead, and his body to be interred at the foot of the gallows.'

Lord Anstruther and Lord Fountainhall, two members of the Council, were led by humane feeling to visit the culprit in prison. 'I found a work on his spirit,' says the former gentleman, 'and wept that ever he should have maintained such tenets.' He adds that he desired for Aikenhead a short reprieve, as his eternal state depended on it. 'I pled for him in Council, and brought it to the Chan[cellor's] vote. It was told it could not be granted *unless the ministers would intercede.* . . . . The ministers, out of a pious, though I think ignorant zeal, spoke and preached for cutting him off . . . . our ministers being,' he adds, 'generally of a narrow set of thoughts and confined principles, and not able to bear things of this nature.' It thus appears that the clergy were eager for the young man's blood, and the secular powers so far under awe towards that body, that they could not grant mercy. The Council appears in numberless instances as receiving applications for delay and pardon from criminals under sentence, and so invariably assents to the petition, that we may infer there having been a routine practice in the case, by which petitions were only sent after it was ascertained that they would probably be complied with. There being no petition for pardon from Aikenhead to the Council after his trial, we may fairly presume that he had learned there was no relaxation of the sentence to be expected.

The *Postman*, a journal of the day, relates the last moments of the unhappy young man. 'He walked thither [to the place of execution—a mile from the prison] on foot, between a strong guard of fusiliers drawn up in two lines. Several ministers assisted him in his last moments; and, according to all human appearance, he died with all the marks of a true penitent. When he was called out of the prison to the City Council-house, before his going to the place of execution, as is usual on such occasions, he delivered his thoughts at large in a paper written by him, and signed with his own hand, and then

requested the ministers that were present to pray for him, which they did; and afterwards he himself prayed, and several times invocated the blessed Trinity, as he did likewise at the place of execution, holding all the time the Holy Bible in his hand; and, being executed, he was buried at the foot of the gallows.'

1697.

Apr. 20.—The Privy Council, in terms of the 27th act of Queen Mary—rather a far way to go back for authority in such a matter—discharged all printers 'to print or reprint any pamphlets, books, or others, relating to the government, or of immediate public concern, until the same be seen, revised, and examined by the Earls of Lauderdale and Annandale, the Lord Advocate, Lord Anstruther, and Sir John Maxwell of Pollock,' under heavy penalties.—*P. C. R.*

July 13.—James Hamilton, keeper of the Canongate Tolbooth, gave in a humble petition to the Privy Council, setting forth that 'for a long while bygone' he has 'kept and maintained a great many persons provided for recruiting the army in Flanders.' In this last spring, 'the prisoners became so tumultuous and rebellious, that they combined together and assassinat the petitioner's servants, and wounded them, and took the keys from them, and destroyed the bread, ale, and brandy that was in the cellar, to the value of eight pounds sterling.' 'Seeing the petitioner's due as formerly is two shillings Scots per night for himself, and twelve pennies Scots for the servants for each person,' in respect whereof he was 'liable for ane aliment of twenty merks monthly to the poor, besides the expense of a great many servants,' payment was ordered to him of £837, 17*s.* for house-dues for the recruits, during a certain term, and £107, 8*s.* for damages done by the mutiny.

In July 1697, in the prospect of a good harvest, the permission to import grain free of duty was withdrawn. About the same time, a great quantity of victual which had been

imported into Leith, was, on inspection, found to be unfit to be eaten, and was therefore ordered to be destroyed.

On the 28th of December, the Privy Council was informed of a cargo of two hundred bolls of wheat shipped in order to be transported to France, and, considering that 'wheat is not yet so low as twelve pounds Scots per boll,' it was proposed by the Lord Chancellor that it should be stopped; but this the Council thought 'not convenient.'

Sep.—An Edinburgh tavern-bill of this date—apparently one for supper to a small party—makes us acquainted with some of the habits of the age. It is as follows, the sums being expressed in Scottish money:

SIR JOHN SWINTON TO MRS KENDALL.

For broth	£00 : 03 : 00
For rost mutton and cutlets	01 : 16 : 00
For on dish of hens	03 : 00 : 00
For harenes	00 : 05 : 00
For allmonds and rasens	01 : 06 : 00
For 3 lb. of confectiones	07 : 16 : 00
For bread and ale	01 : 00 : 00
For 3 pynts of clarite	06 : 00 : 00
For sack	02 : 16 : 00
For oysters fryed and raw	03 : 16 : 00
For brandie and sugare	00 : 06 : 00
For servants	02 : 02 : 00
	£30 : 06 : 06

The sum in English money is equal to £2, 10*s.* 6½*d.* One remarkable fact is brought out by the document—namely, that claret was then charged at twenty pence sterling per quart in a public-house.

1698.

May 10.—An 'unkindly cold and winter-like spring' was threatening again to frustrate the hopes of the husbandman, 'and cut off man and beast by famine.' Already the dearth was greatly increased, and in many places 'great want both of

food and seed' was experienced, while the sheep and cattle were dying in great numbers. In consideration of these facts, and of the abounding sins of profaneness, Sabbath-breaking, drunkenness, &c., 'whereby the displeasure of God was manifestly provoked,' a solemn humiliation and fast was ordered for the 17th of May within the synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, and the 25th of the month for the rest of the kingdom.

July 26.—The African Company, undeterred by the opposition of the English mercantile class, had never for a moment, since the subscription of their stock in spring 1696, paused in their design. They caused six ships of good size to be built in Holland, and these they partially mounted with guns, with a view to defence in case of need, at the same time taking care to furnish them with an ample store of provisions, and of every conceivable article likely to be required in a new colony. Twelve hundred select men, many of them Highlanders, and not a few soldiers who had been discharged at the peace of Ryswick, mustered under a suitable number of officers, who were generally men of good birth, on board this little fleet. 'Neighbouring nations,' says Dalrymple, 'with a mixture of surprise and respect, saw the poorest kingdom of Europe sending forth the most gallant and the most numerous colony that had ever gone from the old to the new world.'

On the summer day noted, the colony left Leith, in five ships, amidst 'the tears, and prayers, and praises' of a vast multitude of people, all interested in the enterprise, either by a mercantile concern in it, or as viewing it in the light of an effort to elevate the condition and character of their country. We are told by one who might have heard eye-witnesses describe the scene, and probably did so, that 'many seamen and soldiers whose services had been refused, because more had offered themselves than were needed, were found hid in the ships, and, when ordered ashore, clung to the ropes and timbers, imploring to go, without reward, with their companions.' The ships had a prosperous voyage to a point on the Gulf of Darien, which had been

previously contemplated as suitable for their settlement, though the order for the purpose was kept sealed till the expedition touched at Madeira. Landing here on the 4th of November, they proceeded to fortify the peninsula on one side of the bay, cutting a channel through the connecting isthmus, and erecting what they called Fort St Andrew, with fifty cannon. 'On the other side of the harbour [bay] there was a mountain a mile high, on which they placed a watch-house, which, in the rarefied air within the tropics, gave them an immense range of prospect, to prevent all surprise. To this place it was observed that the Highlanders often repaired to enjoy a cool air, and to talk of their friends whom they had left behind. They purchased the land they occupied from the natives, and sent out friendly messages to all Spanish governors within their reach. The first public act of the colony was to publish a declaration of freedom of trade and religion to all nations.'—*Dalrymple's Memoirs.*

It does not belong to the plan of the present work to detail the history of the Darien adventure. Enough to say that a second expedition of six ships sailed in May and August 1699, and that this was soon followed by a third, comprising thirteen hundred men. Before the first of these dates, the first colony had fully experienced the difficulties of their position. One of their vessels happening to fall ashore near Cartagena, the crew and its master, Captain Pinkerton, were seized as pirates, and with difficulty spared from hanging. Hunger, dissension, and disease took possession of the settlement, and in June the survivors had to leave it and sail for New York. When the second set of ships arrived, they found the place a desert, marked only by the numerous graves of the first settlers. The men of the second and third expeditions brought together on that desolate spot, felt paralysed. Discontent and mutiny broke out amongst them. After one brilliant little effort against the Spaniards, the remainder of these unfortunate colonists had to capitulate to their enemies, and abandon their settlement (March 1700). It has been stated that not above thirty of them ever returned to their native country.

The failure of the Darien settlement was a death-blow to the

African Company, the whole capital being absorbed and lost. So large a loss of means to so poor a country, amidst the home-troubles of famine and disease, was felt severely. Nine years afterwards, however, the loss sustained by the Scotch through the failure of the African Company was made good to the losers in terms of one of the clauses in the Treaty of Union. Nevertheless, when the whole matter is viewed without national prejudice, it must be admitted that there was a radical want of prudential management and direction in the expedition to Darien, and that thus chiefly did Scotland lose the opportunity of possessing herself of the most important station for commerce in the world.

Oct.—Jean Gordon, widow of Mr William Fraser, minister of Slaines, Aberdeenshire, had been for some years decayed in body and mind, so as probably to be a considerable burden to her surviving relatives. One morning in this month, she was found dead in her bed, and after the usual interval, she was duly interred. Soon after, some suspicions arose against Mr William Fraser, minister of the gospel, stepson of the deceased, to the effect that he had poisoned and bled her to death, although, as he alleged, he had been absent at Aberdeen at the time of her death. A warrant being obtained, the body was raised from the grave and examined. No external mark of violence was discovered, and science did not then give the means of detecting the internal consequences of poison. It was resolved, however, to revive, in this instance, a mode of discovering murder which has long been ranked with vulgar superstitions. The body being laid out in open view, Mr William Dunbar, minister of Cruden, prayed to God that he would discover the authors of any violence done to the deceased lady, if any there were; and then the persons present, one by one, including the suspected stepson, touched the body; 'notwithstanding whereof there appeared nothing upon the body to make the least indication of her having been murdered.' A precognition reporting all these circumstances, and making no charge against any one, was sent to the Lord Advocate.

The friends of the deceased nevertheless continued to suspect the stepson, and caused him to be apprehended and thrown into Aberdeen jail. He lay there unaccused for three months, 'to the ruin of himself and his small family,' till at length they agreed to have him charged before the Commissioners of Justiciary for the Highlands. Hereupon (March 6, 1699), he petitioned the Privy Council for trial before the High Court of Justiciary; which was granted. What was the upshot of the affair does not appear.

1699.

Jan.—When the Bank of Scotland was started in 1695, there were no notes for sums below five pounds. For the extension of the bank's paper, there were now issued notes for twenty shillings—ever since a most notable part of the circulating medium in Scotland.

Nov. 9.—It was customary for the Lords of Privy Council to grant exclusive right to print and vend books for certain terms—being all that then existed as equivalent to our modern idea of copyright. Most generally, this right was given to booksellers and printers, and bore reference rather to the mercantile venture involved in the expense of producing the book, than to any idea of a reward for authorcraft. Quite in conformity with this old view of literary rights, the Council now conferred on George Mossman, stationer in Edinburgh, 'warrant to print and sell the works of the learned Mr George Buchanan, in ane volume in folio, or by parts in lesser volumes,' and discharged 'all others to print, import, or sell, the whole or any part of the said Mr George his works in any volume or character, for the space of nineteen years.'

1700.

Jan.—A case of a singular character was brought before the Court of Justiciary. In the preceding July, a boy named John Douglas, son of Douglas of Dornock, attending the school of Moffat, was chastised by his teacher, Mr Robert Carmichael, with such extreme severity that he died on the spot. The master is described in the indictment as beating and dragging

the boy, and giving him three lashings without intermission, so that when 'let down' for the third time, he 'could only weakly struggle along to his seat, and never spoke more, but breathed out his last, and was carried dying, if not dead, out of the school.' Carmichael fled, and kept out of sight for some weeks, 'but by the providence of God was discovered and seized.'

'The Lords decerned the said Mr Robert to be taken from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh by the hangman under a sure guard to the middle of the Landmarket, and there lashed by seven severe stripes; then to be carried down to the Cross, and there severely lashed by six sharp stripes; and then to be carried to the Fountain Well, to be severely lashed by five stripes; and then to be carried back by the hangman to the Tolbooth. Likeas, the Lords banish the said Mr Robert furth of this kingdom, never to return thereto under all highest pains.'

Feb. 3.—This is the date of a conflagration in Edinburgh, which made a great impression at the time, and was long remembered. It broke out in one of the densest parts of the city, in a building between the Cowgate and Parliament Close, about ten o'clock of a Saturday night. Here, in those days, lived men of no small importance. We are told that the fire commenced in a closet of the house of Mr John Buchan, being that below the residence of Lord Crossrig, one of the judges. Part of his lordship's family were in bed, and he was himself retiring, when the alarm was given, and he and his family were obliged to escape without their clothes. 'Crossrig, naked, with a child under his oxter [armpit], happing for his life,' is cited as one of the sad sights of the night. 'When people were sent into his closet to help out with his cabinet and papers, the smoke was so thick that they only got out a small cabinet with great difficulty. Albeit his papers were lying about the floor, or hung about the walls of his closet in pocks, yet they durst not stay to gather them up or take them . . . . so that that cabinet, and his servant [clerk]'s lettron [desk], which stood near the door of the lodging, with some few other things, was all that was saved, and the rest, even to his lordship's wearing-clothes, were burnt.'

According to an eye-witness, the fire continued to burn all night and till ten o'clock on Sunday morning, 'with the greatest *frayor* and vehemency that ever I saw a fire do, notwithstanding that I saw London burn.' 'The flames were so terrible, that none durst come near to quench it. It was a very great wind, which blew to such a degree, that, with the sparks that came from the fire, there was nothing to be seen through the whole city but as it had been showers of sparks, like showers of snow, they were so thick.'

'There are burnt, by the easiest computation, between three and four hundred families; the pride of Edinburgh is sunk; from the Cowgate to the High Street, all is burnt, and hardly one stone left upon another. The Commissioner, the President of Parliament, the President of the Court of Session [Sir Hugh Dalrymple], the Bank [of Scotland], most of the lords, lawyers, and clerks were burnt, besides many poor families. The Parliament House very nearly [narrowly] escaped; all registers confounded [the public registers being kept there]; clerks' chambers and processes in such a confusion, that the Lords and officers of state are just now met in Ross's tavern, in order to adjourn the session by reason of the disorder. Few people are lost, if any at all; but there was neither heart nor hand left among them for saving from the fire, nor a drop of water in the cisterns. Twenty thousand hands flitting [removing] their trash, they knew not where, and hardly twenty at work. Many rueful spectacles, &c.'

The town-council recorded their sense of this calamity as a 'fearful rebuke of God,' and the Rev. Mr Willison of Dundee did not omit to improve the occasion. 'In Edinburgh,' says he, 'where Sabbath-breaking very much abounded, the fairest and stateliest of its buildings, in the Parliament Close and about it (to which scarce any in Britain were comparable), were on the fourth of February (being the Lord's Day) burnt down and laid in ashes and ruins in the space of a few hours, to the astonishment and terror of the sorrowful inhabitants, whereof I myself was an eye-witness. So great was the terror and confusion of that Lord's Day, that the people of the city were

in no case to attend any sermon or public worship upon it, though there was a great number of worthy ministers convened in the place (beside the reverend ministers of the city) ready to have prayed with or preached to the people on that sad occasion, for the General Assembly was sitting there at the time. However, the Lord himself, by that silent Sabbath, did loudly preach to all the inhabitants of the city,' &c.

Some of the houses burnt on this occasion, forming part of the Parliament Square, were of the extraordinary altitude of fourteen stories, six or seven of which, however, were below the level of the ground on the south side. These had been built about twenty years before by Thomas Robertson, brewer, a thriving citizen, who is described in his epitaph in the Greyfriars' churchyard as 'remarkable for piety towards God, loyalty towards his prince, love to his country, and civility towards all persons.' But Robertson, as youngest bailie, had given the Covenant out of his hand to be burnt at the Cross in 1661; and 'now God in his providence hath sent a burning among his lands, so that that which was eleven years a-building, was not six hours of burning. Notwithstanding this, he was a good man, and lamented to his death the burning of the Covenant; he was also very helpful to the Lord's prisoners during the late persecution.' There being no insurance against fire in those days, the heirs of Robertson were reduced from comparative affluence to poverty, and the head of the family was glad to accept the situation of a captain in the city guard, and at last was made a pensioner upon the city's charge.

Amongst the burnt out has been mentioned the Bank of Scotland. 'The directors and others concerned did with great care and diligence carry off all the cash, bank-notes, books, and papers in the office; being assisted by a party of soldiers brought from the castle by the Earl of Leven, then governor thereof, and governor of the bank, who, with the Lord Ruthven, then a director, stood all the night directing and supporting the soldiers, in keeping the stair and passage from being over-crowded. But the Company lost their lodging and whole furniture in it.'

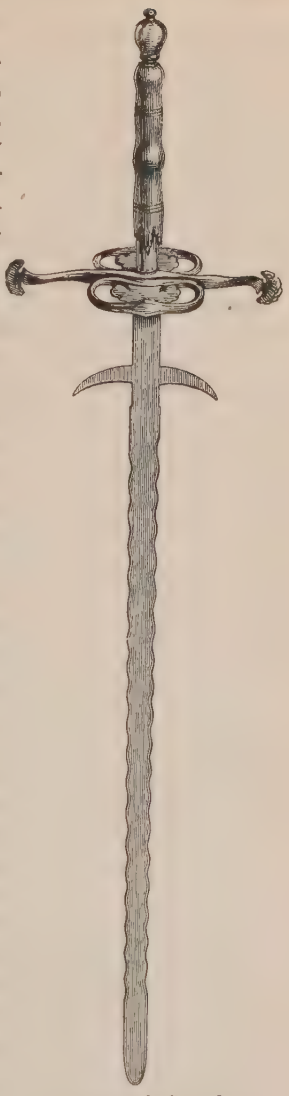
Lord Crossrig, who suffered so much by this fire, tells us in his *Diary*, that in the late evil times—that is, before the Revolution—he had been a member of a society that met every Monday afternoon 'for prayer and conference.' Since their deliverance, such societies had gone out of fashion, and profanity went on increasing till it came to a great height. Hearing that there were societies setting up in England 'for reformation of manners,' and falling in with a book that gave an account of them, he bethought him how desirable it was that something of the sort should be attempted in Edinburgh, and spoke to several friends on the subject. There was, consequently, a meeting at his house in November 1699, at which were present Mr Francis Grant (subsequently Lord Cullen); Mr Matthew Sinclair; Mr William Brodie, advocate; Mr Alexander Dundas, physician, and some other persons, who then determined to form themselves into such a society, under sanction of some of the clergy. The schedule of rules for this fraternity was signed on the night when the fire happened.

'This,' says Crossrig, 'is a thing I remark as notable, which presently was a rebuke to some of us for some fault in our solemn engagement there, and probably Satan blew that coal to witness his indignation at a society designedly entered into in opposition to the Kingdom of Darkness, and in hopes that such an occurrence should dash our society in its infancy, and discourage us to proceed therein. However, blessed be our God, all who then met have continued steadfast ever since . . . and we have had many meetings since that time, even during the three months that I lived at the Earl of Winton's lodging in the Canongate. . . . . Likeas, there are several other societies of the same nature set up in this city.'

Nov. 16.—A band of persons, usually called Egyptians or gipsies, used to go about the province of Moray in armed fashion, helping themselves freely to the property of the settled population, and ordinarily sleeping in kilns near the farmhouses. There seems to have been thirty of them in all, men and women; but it was seldom that more than eight or ten made

their appearance in any one place. It was quite a familiar sight, at a fair or market in Banff, Elgin, Forres, or any other town of the district, to see nearly a dozen sturdy Egyptians march in with a piper playing at their head, their matchlocks slung behind them, and their broadswords or dirks by their sides, to mingle in the crowd, inspect the cattle shown for sale, and watch for bargains passing among individuals, in order to learn who was in the way of receiving money. They would be viewed with no small suspicion and dislike by the assembled rustics and farmers; but the law was unable to put them entirely down.

James Macpherson, who was understood to be the natural son of a gentleman of the district by a gipsy mother, was a conspicuous or leading man in the band; he was a person of goodly figure and great strength and daring, always carrying about with him—how acquired we cannot tell—an example of the two-handed swords of a former age, besides other weapons. He had a talent for music, and was a good player on the violin. It has been stated that some traits of a generous nature occasionally shone out in him; but, on the whole, he was merely a Highland cateran, breaking houses and henroosts, stealing horses and cattle, and living



Macpherson's Sword.

recklessly on the proceeds, like the tribe with which he associated.

Duff, Laird of Braco, founder of the honours and wealth of the Earls of Fife, took a lead at this time in the public affairs of his district. He formed the resolution of trying to give a check to the lawless proceedings of the Egyptians, by bringing their leaders to justice. It required some courage to face such determined ruffians with arms in their hands, and he had a further difficulty in the territorial prejudices of the Laird of Grant, who regarded some of the robbers as his tenants, and felt bound, accordingly, to protect them from any jurisdiction besides his own. This remark bears particularly upon two named Peter and Donald Brown, who had lived for half a year at a place closely adjacent to Castle-Grant, and the former of whom was regarded as captain of the band.

Finding Macpherson, the Browns, and others at the 'Summer's Eve Fair in Keith, the stout-hearted Braco made up his mind to attack them. To pursue a narrative which appears to be authentic: 'As soon as he observed them in the fair, he desired his brother-in-law, Lesmurdie, to bring him a dozen stout men, which he did. They attacked the villains, who, as they had several of their accomplices with them, made a desperate resistance. One of them made a pass at Braco with his hanger, intending to run him through the heart; but it slanted along the outside of the ribs, and one of his men immediately stabbed the fellow dead. They then carried Macpherson and [Peter] Brown to a house in Keith, and set three or four stout men to guard them, not expecting any more opposition, as all the rest of the gang were fled. Braco and Lesmurdie were sitting in an upper room concerting the commitment of their prisoners, when the Laird of Grant and thirty men came calling for them, swearing no Duff in Scotland should keep them from him. Braco, hearing the noise of the Grants, came down-stairs, and said, with seeming unconcern and humour: "That he designed to have sent them to prison; but he saw they were too strong a party for him to contend with, and so he must leave them;" but,

without losing a moment, he took a turn through the market, found other two justices of peace, kept a court, and assembled sixty stout fellows, with whom he retook the two criminals, and sent them to prison.'

James Macpherson, the two Browns, and James Gordon, were brought before the sheriff of Banffshire at Banff, on the 7th of November 1700, charged with 'being habit and repute Egyptians and vagabonds, and keeping the markets in their ordinary manner of thieving and purse-cutting' . . . . being guilty also of 'masterful bangstrie and oppression.' A procurator appeared on the part of the young Laird of Grant, demanding surrender of the two Browns, to be tried in the court of his regality, within whose bounds they had lived, and offering a *culreach* or pledge for them; but the demand was overruled, on the ground that the Browns had never been truly domiciliated there. Witnesses were adduced, who detailed many felonies of the prisoners. They had stolen sheep, oxen, and horses; they had broken into houses, and taken away goods; they had robbed men of their purses, and tyrannously oppressed many poor people. It was shown that the band was in the habit of speaking a peculiar language. They often spent whole nights in dancing and debauchery, Peter Brown or Macpherson giving animation to the scene by the strains of the violin. An inhabitant of Keith related how Macpherson came to his house one day, seeking for him, when, not finding him, he stabbed the bed, to make sure he was not there, and, on going away, set the ale-barrel a-flowing. The jury gave a verdict against all the four prisoners; but sentence was for the meantime passed upon only Macpherson and Gordon, adjudging them to be hanged next market-day.

Macpherson spent the last hours of his life in composing a tune expressive of the reckless courage with which he regarded his fate. He marched to the place of execution, a mile from the town, playing this air on his violin. He even danced to it under the fatal tree. Then he asked if any one in the crowd would accept his fiddle, and keep it as a memorial of Macpherson; and finding no one disposed to do so, he broke the instrument

over his knee, and threw himself indignantly from the ladder. Such was the life and death of a man of whom one is tempted to think that, with such qualities as he possessed, he might, in a happier age, have risen to some better distinction than that which unfortunately he has attained.[1]

[1] Burns's fine ode on Macpherson will be remembered:

Sae rantingly, sae wantonly,
Sae dauntingly gaed he;
He played a spring, and danced it round,
Below the gallows-tree.

There was, however, an earlier celebration of the robber's hardihood on a broadside, a copy of which will be found in Herd's *Collection of Scottish Songs* (1776).

A long two-handed sword is shown in Duff House, the seat of the Earl of Fife, as that of Macpherson. It is a formidable weapon, four feet three inches long, and having a wavy-edged blade. It is obviously a mediæval weapon, yet, of course, may have been used in a later age.

St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh.

Reign of Queen Anne.

1702–1714.

THE death of King William without children (March 8, 1702), opened the succession to the Princess Anne, second daughter of the late King James. Following up the policy of her predecessor, she had not been more than two months upon the throne, when, in conjunction with Germany and Holland, she proclaimed war against the king of France, whose usurpation of the succession to Spain for a member of his family, had renewed a general feeling of hostility against him. This war, distinguished by the victories of the Duke of Marlborough, lasted till the peace of Utrecht in 1713. The queen had been many years married to Prince George of Denmark, and had had several children; but all were now dead.

In 1700, the English parliament, viewing the want of children to both William and the Princess Anne, had settled the crown of England upon the Electress Sophia of Hanover, daughter of the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of King James I., she being the nearest Protestant heir; thus excluding not only the progeny of James II., but that of several elder children of the Princess Elizabeth, all of whom were of the Roman Catholic religion. It was highly desirable that the Scottish Estates should be induced to settle the crown of Scotland on the same person, in order that peace might be preserved between the two kingdoms; but the discontents of the Scotch stood in the way.

It came to be seen that the only way to secure a harmony with the northern kingdom in some matters essential to peace was to admit it to an incorporating union, in which there should be a provision for an equality of mercantile privileges. To effect this arrangement, accordingly became the policy of the English Whig ministry of Queen Anne. On the other hand, the proposition did not meet

with a favourable reception in Scotland, where the ancient national independence was a matter of national pride; nevertheless, there also a parliamentary sanction was obtained for the preliminary steps. In May 1706, the Commissioners, thirty from each nation, met at Westminster, to deliberate on the terms of the proposed treaty, and the Act of Union was passed in February 1707, as to take effect from the ensuing 1st of May.

1702.

The sport of cock-fighting had lately been introduced into Scotland, and a cock-pit was now in operation in Leith Links, where the charges for admission were 10*d.* for the front row, 7*d.* for the second, and 4*d.* for the third. Soon after, 'the passion for cock-fighting was so general among all ranks of the people, that the magistrates [of Edinburgh] discharged its being practised on the streets, on account of the disturbances it occasioned.'

The amusement of cock-fighting long kept a hold of the Scottish people. It will now be scarcely believed that, through the greater part of the eighteenth century, and till within the recollection of persons still living, the boys attending the parish and burghal schools were encouraged to bring cocks to school at Fasten's E'en (Shrove-tide), and devote an entire day to this barbarising sport. The slain birds and *fugies* (so the craven birds were called) became the property of the schoolmaster. The minister of Applecross, in Ross-shire, in his account of the parish, written about 1790, coolly tells us that the schoolmaster's income is composed of two hundred merks, with payments from the scholars of 1*s.* 6*d.* for English, and 2*s.* 6*d.* for Latin, and 'the cock-fight dues, which are equal to one quarter's payment for each scholar.'

1703.

Dec.—Usually, in our day, the opposing solicitors in a cause do not feel any wrath towards each other. It was different with two agents employed at this time in the Court of Session on different interests, one of them being Patrick Comrie, who acted in the capacity of 'doer' for the Laird of Lawers. To

him, one day, as he lounged through the Outer House, came up James Leslie, a 'writer,' who entered into some conversation with him about Lawers's business, and so provoked him, that he struck Leslie in the face, in the presence of many witnesses. Leslie appealed to the court, on the strength of an old statute which decreed death to any one guilty of violence in the presence of the Lords, and Comrie was apprehended. There then arose many curious and perplexing questions among the judges as to the various bearings of the case; but all were suddenly solved by Comrie obtaining a remission of his offence from the queen.—*Foun. Dec.*

1705.

Feb. 2.—Under strong external professions of religious conviction, rigorous Sabbath observance, and a general severity of manners, there prevailed great debauchery, which would now and then come to the surface. On this evening there had assembled a party in Edinburgh, who carried drink and excitement to such a pitch, that nothing less than a dance in the streets would satisfy them. There was Ensign Fleming of a Scots regiment in the Dutch service (son of Sir James Fleming, late provost of Edinburgh); there were Thomas Burnet, one of the guards; and John, son of the late George Galbraith, merchant. The ten o'clock bell had rung, to warn all good citizens home. The three bacchanals were enjoying their frolic in the decent Lawnmarket, where there was no light but what might come from the windows of the neighbouring houses; when suddenly there approaches a sedan-chair, attended by one or two footmen, one of them carrying a lantern. It was the Earl of Leven, governor of the castle, and a member of the Privy Council, passing home to his aerial lodging. Most perilous was it to meddle with such a person; but the merry youths were too far gone in their madness to inquire who it was or think of consequences; so, when Galbraith came against one of the footmen, and was warned off, he answered with an imprecation, and, turning to Fleming and Burnet, told them what had passed. Fleming said it would be brave sport for them to go after the chair and overturn it in the mud; where-

upon the three assailed Lord Leven's servants, and broke the lantern. His lordship spoke indignantly from his chair, and Fleming, drawing his sword, wounded one of the servants, but was quickly overpowered along with his companions.

The young delinquents speedily became aware of the quality of the man they had insulted, and were of course in great alarm, Fleming in particular being apprehensive of losing his commission. After a month's imprisonment, they were glad to come and make public profession of penitence on their knees before the Council, in order to obtain their liberty.

On a Sunday, early in the same month, four free-living gentlemen, including Lord Blantyre—then a hot youth of two-and-twenty—drove in a hackney-coach to Leith, and sat in the tavern of a Mrs Innes all the time of the afternoon service. Thereafter they went out to take a ramble on the sands, but by-and-by returned to drinking at the tavern of a Captain Kendal, where they carried on the debauch till eight o'clock in the evening. Let an Edinburgh correspondent of Mr Wodrow tell the remainder of the story. Being all drunk—'when they were coming back to Edinburgh, in the very street of Leith, they called furiously to the coachman and post-boy to drive. The fellows, I think, were drunk too, and ran in on the side of the causey, dung down [knocked over] a woman, and both the fore and hind wheel went over her. The poor woman cried; however, the coach went on; the woman died in half an hour. Word came to the Advocate to-morrow morning, who caused seize the two fellows, and hath been taking a precognition of the witnesses . . . . it will be a great pity that the gentlemen that were in the coach be not soundly fined for breach of Sabbath. One of them had once too great a profession to [make it proper that he should] be guilty now of such a crime.'—*Analecta Scotica.*

The desire to see these scapegraces punished for what was called breach of Sabbath, without any regard to that dangerous rashness of conduct which had led to the loss of an innocent life, is very characteristic of Mr Wodrow's style of correspondents.

1707.

Apr. 3.—The Master of Burleigh—eldest son of Lord Balfour of Burleigh, a peer possessed of considerable estates in Fife—had fallen in love with a girl of humble rank, and was sent abroad by his friends, in the hope that time and change of scene would save him from making a low marriage. He was heard to declare before going, that if she married in his absence, he would take the life of her husband. The girl was nevertheless married to Henry Stenhouse, schoolmaster of Inverkeithing. The Master was one of those hot-headed persons whom it is scarcely safe to leave at large, and who yet do not in general manifest the symptoms that justify restraint. Learning that his mistress was married, and to whom, he came at this date with two or three mounted servants to the door of the poor schoolmaster, who, at his request, came forth from amongst his pupils to speak to the young gentleman.

'Do you know me?' said Balfour.

'No.'

'I am the Master of Burleigh. You have spoken to my disadvantage, and I am come to fight you.'

'I never saw you before,' said the schoolmaster, 'and I am sure I never said anything against you.'

'I must nevertheless fight with you, and if you won't, I will at once shoot you.'

'It would be hard,' said the schoolmaster, 'to force a man who never injured you into a fight. I have neither horse nor arms, and it is against my principles to fight duels.'

'You must nevertheless fight,' said the Master, 'or be shot instantly;' and so saying, he held a pistol to Stenhouse's breast.

The young man continuing to excuse himself, Balfour at length fired, and gave the schoolmaster a mortal wound in the shoulder, saying with savage cruelty: 'Take that to be doing with.' Then, seeing that an alarm had arisen among the neighbours, he rode off, brandishing a drawn sword, and calling out: 'Hold the deserter!' in order to divert the attention of the populace. The unfortunate schoolmaster died in a few days of his wound.

The Master for a time escaped pursuit, but at length he was brought to trial, July 28, 1709, and adjudged to be beheaded at the cross of Edinburgh, on the ensuing 6th of January. During this unusually long interval, he escaped from the Tolbooth by changing clothes with his sister. He was not again heard of till May 1714, when he appeared amongst a number of Jacobite gentlemen at the Cross of Lochmaben, to drink the health of James VIII. The family title had by this time devolved on him by the death of his father; but his property had all been escheat by sentence of the Court of Justiciary. His appearance in the rebellion of 1715 completed by attainder the ruin of his family, and he died unmarried and in obscurity in 1757.[1]

Oct. 3.—Walter Scott of Raeburn, grandson of the Quaker Raeburn who suffered a long imprisonment for his opinions in the reign of Charles II., fought a duel with Mark Pringle, youngest son of Andrew Pringle of Clifton. It arose from a quarrel the two gentlemen had the day before at the head-court of Selkirk. They were both of them young men, Scott being only twenty-four years of age, although already four years married, and a father. The contest was fought with swords in a field near the town, and Raeburn was killed. The scene of this melancholy tragedy has ever since been known as *Raeburn's Meadow-spot.*

Pringle escaped abroad; became a merchant in Spain; and falling, on one occasion, into the hands of the Moors, underwent such a series of hardships, as, with the Scottish religious views of that age, he might well regard as a Heaven-directed retribution for his rash act. Eventually, however, realising a fortune, he returned with honour and credit to his native country, and purchased the estate of Crichton in Edinburghshire. He died in 1751, having survived the unhappy affair of Raeburn's Meadow-spot for forty-four years; and his grandson, succeeding to the principal estate of the family, became Pringle of Clifton.

[1] The attainder was removed, and the title restored to his descendants in 1869.

Nov. 3.—Mr John Strahan, Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh, was at this time owner of Craigcrook, a romantically situated old manor-house under the lee of Corstorphine Hill—afterwards for many years the residence of Lord Jeffrey. Strahan had also a house in the High Street of Edinburgh. He was the owner of considerable wealth, the bulk of which he ultimately 'mortified' for the support of poor old men, women, and orphans; a charity which still flourishes.

Strahan had a servant named Helen Bell to keep his town mansion, and probably she was left a good deal by herself. As other young women in her situation will do, she admitted young men to see her in her master's house. On Hallowe'en night this year, she received a visit from two young artisans, William Thomson and John Robertson, whom she happened to inform that on Monday morning—that is, the second morning thereafter—she was to go out to Craigcrook, leaving the town-house of course empty.

About five o'clock on Monday morning, accordingly, this innocent young woman locked up her master's house and set forth on her brief journey, little recking that it was the last she would ever undertake in this world. As she was proceeding through the silent streets, her two male friends joined her, telling her they were going part of her way; and she gave them a couple of bottles and the key of the house to carry, in order to lighten her burden. On coming to a difficult part of the way, called the *Three Steps*, at the foot of the Castle Rock, the two men threw her down and killed her with a hammer. They then returned to town, with the design of searching Mr Strahan's house for money.

According to the subsequent confession of Thomson, as they returned through the Grassmarket, they swore to each other to give their souls and bodies to the devil, if ever either of them should inform against the other, even in the event of their being captured. In the empty streets, in the dull gray of the morning, agitated by the horrid reflections arising from their barbarous act and its probable consequences, it is not very wonderful that almost any sort of hallucination should have taken possession of

these miserable men. It was stated by them that, on Robertson proposing that their engagement should be engrossed in a bond, a man started up between them in the middle of the West Bow and offered to write the bond, which they had agreed to subscribe with their blood; but, on Thomson's demurring, this stranger immediately disappeared. No contemporary of course could be at any loss to surmise who this stranger was.

The two murderers having made their way into Mr Strahan's house, broke open his study and the chest where his cash was kept. They found there a thousand pounds sterling, in bags of fifty pounds each, 'all milled money,' except one hundred pounds, which was in gold; all of which they carried off. Robertson proposed to set the house on fire before their departure; but Thomson said he had done wickedness enough already, and was resolved not to commit more, even though Robertson should attempt to murder him for his refusal.

Mr Strahan advertised a reward of five hundred merks for the detection of the perpetrator or perpetrators of these atrocities; but for some weeks no trace of the guilty men was discovered. At length, some suspicion lighting upon Thomson, he was taken up, and, having made a voluntary confession of the murder and robbery, he expiated his offence in the Grassmarket.[1]

1708.

The Union produced some immediate effects of a remarkable nature on the industry and traffic of Scotland—not all of them good, it must be owned, but this solely by reason of the erroneous laws in respect of trade which existed in England, and to which Scotland was obliged to conform.

Scotland had immediately to cease importing wines, brandy, and all things produced by France; with no remedy but what was supplied by the smuggler. This was one branch of her public or ostensible commerce now entirely destroyed. She

[1] Wodrow reports a wild tale about the discovery of the guilty man. It is to the effect that Lady Craigcrook, a twelvemonth after the fact, dreamed she saw the murderer, whom she recognised as an old servant, kill the woman, and then hide the money in two old barrels filled with trash. Her husband made inquiry, and finding the man possessed of a suspicious amount of money, got him apprehended, and had his house searched, when he found his bags, which he readily identified, and a portion of the missing coin.—*Analecta*, iv. 171.

had also, in conformity with England, to cease exporting her wool. This, however, was an evil not wholly unalleviated.

1709.

May.—There was at this time a dearth of victual in Scotland, and it was considered to be upon the increase. The magistrates and justices of Edinburgh arranged means for selling meal in open market, though in quantities not exceeding a firlot (or four pecks), at twelve shillings Scots per peck. They also ordered all possessors of grain to have it thrashed out and brought to market before the 20th of May, reserving none to themselves, and forbade, on high penalties, any one to buy up grain upon the road to market.

Nov. 9.—The Lords of Session decided this day on a critical question, involving the use of a word notedly of uncertain meaning. John Purdie having committed an act of immorality on which a parliamentary act of 1661 imposed a penalty of a hundred pounds in the case of 'a gentleman,' the justices of peace fined him accordingly, considering him a gentleman within the construction of the act, as being the son of 'a heritor,' or land-proprietor. 'When charged for payment by Thomas Sandilands, collector of these fines, he suspended, upon this ground, that the fine was exorbitant, in so far as he was but a small heritor, and, as all heritors are not gentlemen, so he denied that he had the least pretence to the title of a gentleman. The Lords sustained the reason of suspension to restrict the fine to ten pounds Scots, *because the suspender had not the face or air of a gentleman:* albeit it was alleged by the charger [Sandilands] that the suspender's profligateness and debauchery, the place of the country where he lives, and the company haunted by him, had influenced his mien.'—*Forbes's Journal.*

1712.

June 21.—The *Edinburgh Courant* intimated, in an advertisement, that 'Robert Campbell, commonly known by the name of Rob Roy Macgregor, being lately intrusted by several noblemen and gentlemen with considerable sums for buying cows for

them in the Highlands, has treacherously gone off with the money, to the value of £1000 sterling, which he carries along with him.' This is the first public reference to a person who has become the theme of popular legend in Scotland to an extent little short of Robin Hood in England, and finally has had the fortune to be embalmed in a prose fiction by one of the greatest masters in modern literature.

1713.

May 1.—Died, Sir James Steuart, Lord Advocate for Scotland, aged about seventy-eight, greatly lamented by the Presbyterians, to whom he had ever been a steadfast friend. The General Assembly, in session at the time, came in a body to his funeral, which was the most numerously attended ever known in Edinburgh, the company reaching from the head of the close[1] in which his lordship lived, in the Luckenbooths, to the Grey-friars' Churchyard. For several years, bodily infirmity confined him to a chair; but his mind continued clear to the last. Sir James had shown some unsteadiness to his principles in the reign of James II., but nevertheless was forced to flee his country, and he only returned along with King William, whose manifesto for Scotland he is understood to have written.

1714.

Jan. 10.—Campbell of Lochnell having died about this day, his son, a Jacobite, kept the corpse unburied till the 28th, in order that the burial might be turned to account, or made use of, for political purposes. It was customary for the obsequies of a Highland chief or gentleman to be attended by a vast multitude of people, who usually received some entertainment on the occasion. It seems to have been understood that those who came to Lochnell's funeral were making a masked demonstration in favour of the exiled Stuart. Those of the opposite inclination deemed it necessary to attend also, in order to be a check upon the Jacobites. Hence it came to pass that the inhumation of Lochnell was attended by two thousand five hundred men, well armed and appointed, five hundred being of

[1] Sir James Steuart's house, which stood at the foot of the Advocates' Close, being in a ruinous condition, was demolished in the summer of 1884.

Lochnell's own lands, commanded by the famous Rob Roy, carrying with them a pair of colours belonging to the Earl of Breadalbane, and accompanied by the screams of thirteen bagpipes. Such a subject for a picture!

Lord Advocate Steuart's House.

Reign of George the First.

1714–1727.

THE Tory ministry of Anne, which had certainly meditated some attempt at the restoration of the Stuart line, were paralysed by her death, and allowed the accession of George of Hanover to take place without opposition. The new king had no sooner settled himself in London, than he displaced the late queen's advisers, and surrounded himself with the Whigs, whom he knew to be his only true friends. The sharpness of this proceeding, added to the general discontent, produced an almost immediate insurrection. The Earl of Mar, after in vain attempting to obtain the favour of King George, repaired to his native country, and, on the 6th of September 1715, set up the standard of rebellion in Aberdeenshire. The miserable failure of this effort for the House of Stuart, and its dismal consequences, neither allayed the wishes nor extinguished the hopes of the Jacobite party. King George I., dying in June 1727, was quietly succeeded by his son George II.

1715.

Apr. 22.—A celebrated total eclipse of the sun, which happened about nine o'clock in the morning of this day, made a great impression in Scotland, as in other parts of Europe, over which the entire shadow passed. The darkness lasted upwards of three minutes, during which the usual phenomena were observed among the lower animals.

Sep.—On the breaking out of the Rebellion this month, there was a run upon the Bank of Scotland, rather encouraged by the directors than otherwise, from a desire to escape the responsi-

bility and danger of keeping money during such a critical time. When the whole coin was drawn out, the Bank rendered up about thirty thousand pounds of public money which lay in its hands, that it might be lodged in the castle, and then very calmly stopped payment, or rather discontinued business, intimating that their notes should bear interest till better times should return. In May 1716, the troubles being over, the Bank began to take in their notes and resume business as usual.

1716.

Nov.—We are informed that, after the close of the Rebellion, owing to the number of people cast loose thereby from all the ordinary social bonds, 'thefts, robberies, rapines, and depredations became so common [in the Highlands and their borders], that they began to be looked upon as neither shameful nor dishonourable, and people of a station somewhat above the vulgar did sometimes countenance, encourage, nay, head gangs of banditti in those detestable villainies.'

1717.

Jan.—Wonder-seekers were at this time regaled with a brochure stating how Mr John Gardner, minister near Elgin, fell into a trance, and lay as dead for two days, in the sight of many; and how, being put into a coffin, and carried to his parish church in order to be buried, he was heard at the last moment to make a noise in the coffin; which, being opened, he was found alive, 'to the astonishment of all present.' Being then carried home and put into a warm bed, he in a little time coming to himself, 'related many strange things which he had seen in the other world.' In the same publication was a sermon which the worthy man had preached after his recovery.

June 10.—Occurred this day at Edinburgh a thunder-storm, attended with such remarkable effects, that an account of it was published on a broadside. It was little, perhaps, that it frightened the people off the streets, caused the garrison at the castle to look well to the powder-magazine, and killed a man and a woman at Lasswade. What attracted particular attention was the fate of a tavern company at Canonmills, where two

barbers from the Lawnmarket had come to celebrate the Pretender's birthday over a bottle of ale. They had just drunk to the health of their assumed monarch—one of the company had remarked with a curse how the bells were not rung or the castle guns fired on 'the king's' birthday—when a great thunder-clap broke over the house. 'The people on earth,' cried one of the party, 'will not adore their king; but you hear the Almighty is complimenting him with a volley from heaven.' At that moment came a second stroke, which instantaneously killed one of the barbers and a woman, and scorched a gentleman so severely that he died in a few hours. 'The rest of the company, being amazed, sent to Edinburgh for doctors to take blood of the gentleman; but the doctors told them they could do no good. They tried to let blood of him, but found none. Their bodies were as soft as wool.'

1720.

Jan. 5.—'All persons [in Edinburgh] desirous to learn the French tongue' were apprised, by an advertisement in the *Edinburgh Courant*, that 'there is a Frenchman lately come to this city who will teach at a reasonable price.' This would imply that there was no native French teacher in Edinburgh previously.

Oct. 17.—The genius of Scott, in *The Heart of Midlothian*, has lent an extraordinary interest to a murder perpetrated at this date. Nicol Mushet appears to have been a young man of some fortune, being described as 'of Boghall,' and he had studied for the profession of a surgeon; but for some time he had led an irregular and dissipated life in Edinburgh, where he had for one of his chief friends a noted profligate named Campbell of Burnbank, ordnance store-keeper in the castle. The unhappy young man was drawn into a marriage with a woman named Hall, for whom he soon discovered that he had neither affection nor respect; and he then became so eager to be free from the connection as to listen to a project by Burnbank for obtaining a divorce by dishonourable means. An obligation passed between the parties in November 1719,

whereby a claim of Burnbank for an old debt of nine hundred merks (about £50) was to be discharged by Mushet as soon as Burnbank should be able to furnish evidence calculated to criminate the woman. Burnbank then deliberately hired a wretch like himself, one Macgregor, a teacher of languages, to enter into a plot for placing Mrs Mushet in criminative circumstances; and some progress was made in this plan, which, however, ultimately misgave. It was then suggested by Burnbank that they should go a step further, and remove the woman by poison. One James Mushet and his wife—a couple in poor circumstances—readily undertook to administer it. Several doses were actually given, but the stomach of the victim always rejected them. James Mushet undertook to knock his sister-in-law on the head for twenty guineas, and got one or two in hand by anticipation, part of which he employed in burying a child of his own.

At length, the infatuated Nicol himself borrowed a knife one day, hardly knowing what he wanted it for, and, taking his wife with him that night, as on a walk to Duddingston, he embraced the opportunity of killing her at a solitary place in the King's Park. He went immediately after to his brother's, to tell him what he had done, but in a state of mind which made all afterwards seem a blank to him. Next morning the poor victim was found lying on the ground, with her throat cut to the bone, and many other wounds, which she had probably received in struggling with her brutal murderer.

Mushet was seized and examined, when he readily related the whole circumstances of the murder and those which had led to it. He was adjudged to be hanged in the Grassmarket on the ensuing 6th of January. His associate Burnbank was declared infamous, and sentenced to banishment. The common people, thrilled with horror by the details of the murder, marked their feelings in the old national mode by raising a cairn on the spot where it took place; and Mushet's Cairn has ever since been a recognised locality.

1723.

The summer of this year was remarked to be unusually dry

and sultry, with little wind. The air seemed stagnant, and the water unwholesome. Vast abundance of flies resulted, and a bloody flux became prevalent. 'In one quarter of the parish [of Eastwood, in Renfrewshire],' says Wodrow, 'I saw nineteen sick persons in one day [August 23], and all of them save one of the flux.' 'I have never seen so much sickness in Eastwood for twenty years.'—*Analecta.*

Nov. 11.—A number of people proceeding from Galashiels and its neighbourhood to attend a fair at Melrose, and crossing the Tweed in a ferry-boat at Nether Barnsford, near what afterwards became Abbotsford, were thrown by the oversetting of the boat into the water, then in flood, and eighteen of them drowned. A boy named Williamson, son of a tradesman in Galashiels, was preserved in a wonderful way. Thrown at first to the bottom of the river, he caught a man by the hair of his head, and was thus enabled to rise to the surface. There he was kept afloat by grasping, first, a bundle of lint, and then a sackful of gray cloth, letting go each in succession as it became saturated with water. Then a deal from the 'lofting' of the boat came near him, and he grasped it firmly below his breast. Meanwhile he was moving rapidly down the stream. There was a place where formerly a bridge had been, and where three piers yet stood in the water. It was with difficulty he got through one of the spaces, and over a cascade on the lower side of the bridge. Sometimes, thrown on his back, he was under water for thirty or forty yards, but he never let go the deal. At length, after going considerably more than a mile in this manner, he was taken up by the West-house boat, the manager of which had been warned of his coming, and of his possible preservation, by a ploughman mounted on a horse, which, escaping from the overset boat, had swum ashore in time to admit of this rapid and dexterous movement.—*Caledonian Mercury.*

1724.

July 15.—The magistrates of Edinburgh issued an edict proceeding upon a recital that disturbances have arisen, and

may further arise, from gentlemen carrying firearms, and their servants wearing dirks and broadswords, in the streets, a practice 'contrary to the rules of decency and good order;' wherefore it was now strictly forbidden. It is to be remarked that in this prohibition there is no notice taken of the swords worn by gentlemen.

Sep. 2.—A poor woman named Margaret Dickson, an inhabitant of the parish of Inveresk, was tried under the act of 1690 for concealment of pregnancy in the case of a dead child. A defence was made for her that she was a married woman, though living separate from her husband; but it was of no avail. A broadside—which proceeds upon a strong approval of the text, that 'the works of God are works of wonder, and his ways past finding out'—gives a minute recital of the circumstances of her execution in the Grassmarket; how the hangman did his usual office of pulling down her legs; and how the body, having hung the usual time, was taken down and put into a coffin, the *cooms* of which were nailed fast at the gibbet-foot. It then proceeds. 'Being put into a cart, to transport her corpse to be interred in the churchyard of Inveresk, whither the magistrates had allowed her friends to carry her, there happened a scuffle betwixt her friends and some surgeon-apprentices and others, their accomplices, on this side of the Society Port. One, with a hammer, broke down one of the sides of the cooms of the chest; which having given some air, and, together with the jolting of the cart, set the blood and vitals agoing. The people intrusted with transporting her body having stopped at Peffermill to take a refreshment, and left her upon a cart in the highway, two joiners, from curiosity, came from a house to view the coffin, and, to their surprise, heard a noise within. Acquainting the persons concerned, they proposed to open the other side of the cooms of the chest, which, after some opposition, was agreed to. The coom being taken off, they perceived her to draw up her limbs. One Peter Purdie, a practitioner of phlebotomy, providentially breathed a vein, from which streamed blood, which recovered her so far, that twice she said: "O dear!" Being brought to

her feet, she was supported by two to a brae-side, where the blood returned to her lips and cheeks, which promised a sudden recovery. Being laid upon blankets in a corn-cart, her head and body upheld by a woman, she was driven to Musselburgh, where she remained, at the magistrates' command, all night; had restoratives and means of sustenance given her; was visited by Mr Robert Bonally, one of the ministers of that place, who prayed over her; and next morning was laid in a bed in her brother James Dickson, weaver, his house, whither a great many flock every day to see her, and not a few gave her money. She had little appearance of recovering her health or senses next day, and cried out to let her be gone, for she was to be executed on Wednesday, but is now pretty well—only complains of a pain in her neck. She went to church on Sunday last, and heard sermon, where the people were so anxious to see her, that the minister was obliged to conduct her out of the churchyard to keep her from being trodden down by the multitude. She still remains in a hopeful way of recovering strength and judgment. May this amazing dispensation of Providence be sanctioned to her, and teach all who shall hear it to act a needy dependence upon, and live to the glory of God, to whom belong the issues of life and death!'—*Miscellany Papers, Adv. Lib.*

Another brief chronicler of the time informs us that Maggie devoted the Wednesday ensuing upon that on which she was executed to solemn fasting and prayer, in gratitude for her deliverance, and had formed the resolution so to employ each recurring Wednesday during the remainder of her life. It is also stated that her husband, struck with a forgiving interest in her, took her ultimately back to his house. She lived to have several children creditably born, and cried salt for many a day through the streets of Edinburgh, universally recognised and constantly pointed out to strangers as 'Half-hangit Maggie Dickson.'

The idea of improving agricultural implements was hitherto unheard of in Scotland; but now a thrashing-machine was invented by Mr Michael Menzies, a member of the Scottish bar.

On his request, the Society of Improvers sent a deputation to see it working at Roseburn, near Edinburgh; and these gentlemen reported upon it favourably.

A machine for the winnowing of corn was, as far as can be ascertained, for the first time made in this island by Andrew Rodger, a farmer on the estate of Cavers in Roxburghshire, in the year 1737. It was after retiring from his farm to indulge a bent for mechanics, that he entered on this remarkable invention, and began circulating what were called *Fanners* throughout the country, which his descendants continued to do for many years. This machine is well known to have been the subject of a religious prejudice among our more rigid sectaries, as indicated anachronously by Scott in the conversation between Mause Headrigg and her mistress—'a new-fangled machine for dighting the corn frae the chaff, thus impiously thwarting the will o' Divine Providence, by raising wind for your leddyship's ain particular use by human art, instead of soliciting it by prayer, or patiently waiting for whatever dispensation of wind Providence was pleased to send upon the sheeling-hill.' The 'Seceders' are understood to have taken very strong ground in resistance to the introduction of fanners, deeming the wind as specially a thing made by God ('he that createth the wind,' Amos, iv. 13), and therefore regarding an artificial wind as a daring and impious attempt to usurp what belonged to him alone.

1726.

Aug. 8.—At an election for the county of Roxburgh at Jedburgh, a quarrel arose between Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobbs, a candidate, and Colonel Stewart of Stewartfield, who opposed him. Colonel Stewart, who was 'a huffing, hectoring person,' is said to have given great provocation, and gentlemen afterwards admitted that Stobbs was called upon by the laws of honour to take notice of the offence. According to a petition to the Court of Session from the son of Stewart, Elliot stabbed him as he sat in his chair on the opposite side of a table, with his sword by his side.

The homicide took refuge in Holland, but was soon enabled by a pardon to return to his own country.

Reign of George the Second.

1727–1745.

THE accession of George II., while not disturbing in England that predominance of the great Whig nobles which had existed since the Revolution, and leaving the practical administration, as before, in the hands of Sir Robert Walpole, produced no change in the system of improvement which the Union had inaugurated. Under the rule of the Argylls, the Dalrymples, and one or two other eminent Whig families, with the mild and virtuous Duncan Forbes as Lord Advocate, the country enjoyed peace, and was enabled to develop its long dormant energies, in the pursuits of agriculture, of manufactures, and of commerce. All but a few of the Highland clans had apparently given their final submission to the Guelph dynasty; and though the Stuart cause was known to be upheld by some, it was generally thought that there was very little chance of further civil war on that subject.

In 1744, Great Britain was engaged in a war which involved most of the great powers of Europe. The French minister, Cardinal de Tencin, conceived that an invasion of England on behalf of the House of Stuart would be an excellent diversion in favour of the arms of his country. The time was in reality long past for any effective movement of this kind. New men and new things had extinguished all rational hopes in the Jacobite party. Still, there were some chiefs in the Highlands who had never abandoned the Stuart cause. In the Lowlands, there were discontents which seemed capable of being turned to some account in effecting the desired revolution. Prince Charles Edward, the eldest son of the so-called Pretender, was an ardent-minded youth, eager to try a last chance for the restoration of his family. The Cardinal really made some preparations for an expedition to be conducted by the Prince; but it was prevented by a storm and an opposing English armament,

from leaving the French coast. Disappointed of the promised aid, Charles secretly voyaged with seven friends to the western coast of Inverness-shire, and, landing there towards the close of July 1745, was soon surrounded by a few hundreds of friendly Camerons and Macdonalds. He raised his standard at Glenfinnan on the 19th of August, and expressed himself as determined, with such as would follow him, to win back a crown, or perish in the attempt. The rebellion came to an end on Culloden Moor, near Inverness (April 16, 1746), the Highland army being broken and dispersed with great slaughter. Prince Charles fled to the west coast, and after several months of fugitive life, during which he endured incredible hardships, escaped back to France.

1728.

Mar. 1.—At four o'clock in the morning, a smart shock of an earthquake was experienced in Edinburgh and throughout the south of Scotland, if not in other quarters. At Selkirk, every house was shaken, and some people were tumbled out of bed, but no damage was done.

Mar. 27.—The conflict between the Bank of Scotland and its young and pretentious Whig rival, the Royal Bank, which had been established the previous year, led to a temporary stoppage of payments at the former establishment, the last that ever took place. The Royal Bank 'having all the public money given in to them, has at present worsted [the Bank of Scotland], and run them out of cash.' In their own advertisement on the occasion, they attribute the calamity to 'the great embarrassment that has been upon credit and circulation of money in payments for some months bygone, arising from causes and by means well known both in city and country.' In this very crisis, the Bank announced its dividend of four per cent. on its capital stock, but appropriating it as part of ten per cent. now called up from the shareholders, 'the other sixty pounds Scots on each share to be paid in before the 15th of June.' The directors at the same time ordered their notes to bear interest during the time that payment should be suspended.

It must have been a draught of very bitter gall to the Old

Bank, when their young rival came ostentatiously forward with an announcement that, for the 'relief of such people as wanted to go to market,' they would give specie for the twenty-shilling notes of the Bank of Scotland till further notice.

The Bank of Scotland resumed paying its twenty-shilling notes on the 27th of June.

Nov.—The influenza, in a very virulent form, after passing over the Continent, came to England, and a fortnight after had made its way into Scotland. A cold and cough, with fever, laid hold of nearly every person, sometimes in a moment as they stood on their feet, and in some instances attended with raving. Wodrow of course entertained hopes that Glasgow would receive a good share of the calamity; but it proved less severe there than in some other places. He adverts, however, to the fact, that, owing to the ailment, 'there was no hearing sermon for some time.'

Nov. 7.—'Yesterday, one Margaret Gibson, for the crime of theft, was drummed through the city in a very disgraceful manner. Over her neck was fixed a board with spring and bells, which rung as she walked. At some inches distant from her face was fixed a false-face, over which was hung a fox's tail. In short, she was a very odd spectacle.'—*Edinburgh Evening Courant.*

1730.

Oct. 26.—One William Muir, brother of two men who had recently been hanged at Ayr for theft, was this day tried before a jury, for housebreaking, by the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, acting as 'High Sheriff within burgh.' The man was condemned to death, and the sentence was duly executed on the ensuing 2d of December, he dying penitent.

It seems strange to us, but about this time the condemnation of criminals to capital punishment by sheriffs of counties and by the chief-magistrate of Edinburgh was by no means infrequent, being entirely in accordance with the statutory arrangements of the country. Nay, more, great territorial lords,

especially in the Highlands, still acted upon their ancient privileges of pit and gallows. It is related that the Duke of Athole one day received at Blair an application from his baron-bailie for pardon to a man whom he had condemned to be hanged for theft, but who was a person of such merits otherwise that it seemed a pity to put justice in force against him. The Lord President Forbes, who had stopped to dine with his Grace in the course of a journey to Edinburgh, expressed his surprise that the power of pardoning a condemned criminal should be attributed to any person but the king. 'Since I have the power of punishing,' said the duke, 'it is but right that I should have the power of pardoning.' Then, calling a servant, he quietly added: 'Send an express to Logierait, and order Donald Stewart, presently under sentence, to be set at liberty.'

1731.

Nov.—'William Crawford, janitor of the High School at Edinburgh, somewhat in years, having been thrice proclaimed in the kirk, went thither with his friends, and stood some hours expecting his bride. At last he received a ticket from her in these terms: "William, you must know I am pre-engaged. I am so. I never could like a burnt cuttie. I have now by the hand my sonsie, menseful strapper, with whom I intend to pass my youthful days. You know, old age and youth cannot agree together. I must then be excused if I tell you I am not your humble servant." The honest man, not taking it much to heart, only said: "Come, let us at least keep the feast on a feast-day. Dinner will be ready. Let us go drink, and drive care away. May never a greater misfortune attend an honest man!" Back to dinner they went, and from the company convened the bridegroom got a hundred merks and all charges defrayed; with which he was as well satisfied as he who got madam.'—*Caledonian Mercury.*

1732.

Feb.—On a stormy night in this month, Colonel Francis Charteris died at his seat of Stonyhill, near Musselburgh. The pencil of Hogarth, which represents him as the old profligate

gentleman in the first print of the Harlot's Progress, has given historical importance to this extraordinary man. Descended from an old family of very moderate fortune in Dumfriesshire—Charteris of Amisfield—he acquired an enormous fortune by gambling and usury, and thus was enabled to indulge in his favourite vices on a scale which might be called magnificent. A single worthy trait has never yet been adduced to redeem the character of Charteris, though it is highly probable that, in some particulars, that character has been exaggerated by popular rumour.

A contemporary assures us that the fortune of Charteris amounted to the then enormous sum of fourteen thousand a year; of which ten thousand was left to his grandson, Francis, second son of the Earl of Wemyss.

'Upon his death-bed,' says the same writer, 'he was exceedingly anxious to know if there were any such thing as hell; and said, were he assured there was no such place (being easy as to heaven), he would give thirty thousand. . . . . Mr Cumming the minister attended him on his death-bed. He asked his daughter, who is exceedingly narrow, what he should give him. She replied that it was unusual to give anything on such occasions. "Well, then," says Charteris, "let us have another flourish from him!" so calling his prayers. There accidentally happened, the night he died, a prodigious hurricane, which the vulgar ascribed to his death.'

1738.

Aug.—Isabel Walker, under sentence of death at Dumfries for child-murder, obtained a reprieve through unexpected means. According to a letter dated Edinburgh, August 10, 1738, 'this unhappy creature was destitute of friends, and had none to apply for her but an only sister, a girl of a fine soul, that overlooked the improbability of success, and helpless and alone, went to London to address the great; and solicited so well, that she got for her, first, a reprieve, and now a remission. Such another instance of onerous friendship can scarce be shown; it well deserved the attention of the greatest, who could not but admire the virtue, and on that account engage in her cause.'

Helen Walker, who acted this heroic part, was the daughter of a small farmer in the parish of Irongray. Her sister, who had been under her care, having concealed her pregnancy, it came to be offered to Helen as a painful privilege, that she could save the accused if she could say, on the trial, that she had received any communication from Isabel regarding her condition. She declared it to be impossible that she should declare a falsehood even to save a sister's life; and condemnation accordingly took place. Helen then made a journey on foot to London, in the hope of being able to plead for her sister's life; and, having almost by accident gained the ear and interest of the Duke of Argyll, she succeeded in an object which most persons would have said beforehand was next to unattainable.

Isabel afterwards married her lover, and lived at Whitehaven for many years. Helen survived till 1791, a poor peasant woman, living by the sale of eggs and other small articles, or doing country work, but always distinguished by a quiet self-respect, which prevented any one from ever talking to her of this singular adventure of her early days. Many years after she had been laid in Irongray kirkyard, a lady who had seen and felt an interest in her communicated her story to Sir Walter Scott, who expanded it into a tale (*The Heart of Midlothian*), of which the chief charm lies in the character and actings of the self-devoted heroine. It was one of the last, and not amongst the least worthy, acts of the great fictionist to raise a monument over her grave, with the following inscription:

'This stone was erected by the author of *Waverley* in *Memory of* HELEN WALKER, who died in the year of God 1791. This humble individual practised in real life the virtues with which fiction has invested the imaginary character of JEANIE DEANS; refusing the slightest departure from veracity, even to save the life of a sister, she nevertheless showed her kindness and fortitude in rescuing her from the severity of the law, at the expense of personal exertions which the time rendered as difficult as the motive was laudable.—Respect the grave of poverty, when combined with love of truth and dear affection.'

1739.

The potato—introduced from its native South American ground by Raleigh into Ireland, and so extensively cultivated there in the time of the civil wars, as to be a succour to the poor when all cereal crops had been destroyed by the soldiery—transplanted thence to England, but so little cultivated there towards the end of the seventeenth century, as to be sold in 1694 at sixpence or eightpence a pound —is first heard of in Scotland in 1701, when the Duchess of Buccleuch's household-book mentions a peck of the esculent as brought from Edinburgh, and costing *2s. 6d.* We hear of it in 1733 as used occasionally at supper in the house of the Earl of Eglinton, in Ayrshire. About this time, it was beginning to be cultivated in gardens, but still with a hesitation about its moral character, for no reader of Shakspeare requires to be told that some of the more uncontrollable passions of human nature were supposed to be favoured by its use.

1742.

Oct. 10.—Public attention was strongly roused by an accident of an uncommon kind which happened in the lowlands of Rossshire. The church of Fearn parish was an old Gothic structure covered with a heavy roof of flagstone. This day, being Sunday, while the parishioners were assembled at worship, the roof and part of the side-wall gave way, under the pressure of a load of prematurely fallen snow; and the bulk of the people present were buried under the ruins. The fortunate arrangement of the seats of the gentry in the side recesses saved most of that class from injury; and the minister, Mr Donald Ross, was protected by the sounding-board of his pulpit. There chanced to be present Mr James Robertson, the minister of Lochbroom, a man of uncommon personal strength and great dexterity and courage. He, planting his shoulder under a falling *lintel*, sustained it till a number of the people escaped. Forty poor people were dug out dead, and in such a state of mutilation that it was found necessary to huddle them all into one grave.

1743.

May.—Owing to a severe spring, a malady called 'fever and cold' prevailed in Edinburgh, and was spreading all over the country. On Sunday, the 8th May, fifty sick people were prayed for in the city churches, and in the preceding week there had been seventy burials in the Greyfriars, being three times the usual number.

1744.

For some years the use of tea had been creeping in amongst nearly all ranks of the people. It was thought by many reflecting persons, amongst whom was the enlightened Lord President Forbes, to be in many respects an improper diet, expensive, wasteful of time, and calculated to render the population weakly and effeminate. During the course of this year, there was a vigorous movement all over Scotland for getting the use of tea abated. Towns, parishes, and counties passed resolutions condemnatory of the Chinese leaf, and pointing strongly to the manlier attractions of beer. The tenants of William Fullarton of Fullarton, in Ayrshire, in a bond they entered into on the occasion, thus delivered themselves: 'We, being all farmers by profession, think it needless to restrain ourselves formally from indulging in that foreign and consumptive luxury called *tea;* for when we consider the *slender constitutions* of many of higher rank, amongst whom it is used, we conclude that it would be but an improper diet to qualify us for the more *robust* and *manly* parts of our business; and therefore we shall only give our testimony against it, and leave the enjoyment of it altogether to those who can afford to be *weak, indolent,* and *useless.*'

1745.

Oct.—Lord Lovat, writing to the Lord President Forbes on the 20th of this month, adverts to the effect of the civil broils in giving encouragement to men of prey in the Highlands. He says: 'This last fortnight, my cousin William [Fraser], Struie's uncle, that is married to Kilbockie's daughter, and who is a very honest man, and she a good woman, had twenty fine cows stolen from him. The country [that is, the country-people] went upon

the track, and went into Lochaber and to Rannoch, and came up with the thieves in my Lord Breadalbane's forest of Glenurchy. The thieves, upon seeing the party that pursued them, abandoned the cattle, and ran off; and William brought home his cattle, but had almost died, and all that was with him, of fatigue, cold, and hunger; but, indeed, it is the best-followed track that ever I heard of in any country. You see how loose the whole country is, when four villains durst come a hundred miles, and take up the best cattle they could find in this country; for they think there is no law, and that makes them so insolent.'

The ancient practice of stealing cattle in the Highlands is well known, as well as the system of compromise called *black-mail*, by which honest people were enabled in some degree to secure themselves against such losses. Down to 1745, there does not appear to have been any very sensible abatement of this state of things, notwithstanding the keeping up of the armed companies, professedly for the maintenance of law and order. Pennant informs us that many of the lifters of black-mail 'were wont to insert an article by which they were to be released from their agreement in case of any civil commotion; thus, at the breaking out of the last rebellion, a Macgregor (who assumed the name of Graham), who had with the strictest honour till that event preserved his friends' cattle, immediately sent them word that from that time they were out of his protection, and must now take care of themselves.'

Mr Pennant also speaks of one 'Barrisdale' as a person who at this time stood in great notoriety as a levier of black-mail. His father had obtained from one of the Glengarry family, on wadset, permission to occupy a considerable tract of ground named Barrisdale, on the south side of Loch Hourn, and from this he had hereditarily derived the appellative by which he was most generally known, while his real name was Coll MacDonell, and his actual residence was at Inverie, on Loch Nevis. At the breaking out of the rebellion, Barrisdale and his son acted as partisans of the Stuart cause, the latter in an open manner, the consequence of which was his being named in the act of

attainder. During the frightful time of vengeance that followed upon Culloden, the father made some sort of submission to the government troops, which raised a rumour that he had undertaken to assist in securing and delivering up the fugitive prince. What truth or falsehood there might be in the allegation, no one could now undertake to certify; but certain it is that, when a party of the Camerons were preparing, in September 1746, to leave the country with Prince Charles in a French vessel, they seized the Barrisdales, father and son, as culprits, and carried them to France, where they underwent imprisonment, first at St Malo, and afterwards at Saumur, for about a year.

The younger Barrisdale, making his escape from the French prison, returned to the wilds of Inverness-shire, and was there allowed for a time to remain in peace. The father, liberated when Prince Charles was expelled from France, also returned to Scotland; but he had not been more than two days at his house in Knoydart, when a party from Glenelg apprehended him. Being placed as a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle, he died there in June 1750, after a confinement of fourteen months. The son was in like manner seized in July 1753, in a wood on Loch-Hourn-side, along with four or five other gentlemen in the same circumstances, and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle. He was condemned upon the act of attainder to die in the Grassmarket on the 22d of May 1754, and while he lay under sentence, his wife, who attended him, brought a daughter into the world. He was, however, reprieved from time to time, and ultimately, after nine years' confinement, received a pardon in March 1762, took the oath of allegiance to George III., and was made a captain in Colonel Graeme's regiment, being the same which was afterwards so noted under the name of the *Forty-second*. When Mr John Knox made his tour of the West Highlands in 1786, to propagate the faith in herring-curing and other modern arts of peace, he found 'Barrisdale' residing at the place from which he was named. 'He lives,' says the traveller, 'in silent retirement upon a slender income, and seems by his appearance, conversation, and deportment, to have merited a better fate. He is about six feet high, proportionably made,

and was reckoned one of the handsomest men of the age. He is still a prisoner, in a more enlarged sense, and has no society excepting his own family, and that of Mr Macleod of Arnisdale. Living on opposite sides of the loch, their communications are not frequent.'

It seems not inappropriate that this record of the old life of Scotland should end with an article in which we find the associations of the lawless times of the Highlands mingling with the industrial proceedings of a happier age. A further extension of our DOMESTIC ANNALS would show how our northern soil became, in the course of little more than a lifetime, one of the fairest scenes of European civilisation. Fully to describe this period—its industries, its rapid growth in intelligence and taste, in literature, science, and art—would form a pleasing task; but it is one which would need to be worked out on a plan different from the present work, and which I should gladly see undertaken by some son of Caledonia who may have more power than I to do her story justice, though he cannot love or respect her more.

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Edinburgh:
Printed by W. & R. Chambers.